

SHARED IDEAS BETWEEN VISUAL AND MUSICAL ARTS
1450-1750: A CONDENSED GUIDE FOR MUSEUMS AND
ARTISTIC DIRECTORS

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Preface

Performers of art music are often asked to put their works in context. In recent years, it has become especially important for musicians to possess this skill because creative collaborations among musicians, art museums, dance companies, cinema houses and opera companies have been more successful in engaging audiences by working together than they could on their own. In today's challenging economic and social climate, it is more necessary than ever for musicians – especially those who strive for historical authenticity – to create interesting and entertaining concert programs that appeal to many different constituencies and stakeholders. Notwithstanding the legitimate desire of many for historical faithfulness, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the modern concertgoer, having already experienced immersive multimedia environments for decades, wants and needs similar experiences in order to engage with and provide additional meaning to the music, regardless of the musical genre in question.

This guide highlights the shared structural and thematic ideas and problems when examining these ideas among visual, dramatic and musical ideas ranging from about 1450 to 1750, also known as the early modern period. It supplies sample programs and essays that could easily fit within the context of an art museum, concert hall, or film festival. These templates are designed to be focused and specific, yet flexible enough that a musician could use them as a starting point for a rich and fulfilling multimedia experience for a typical audience. The chapters in this paper are linked in the sense that museums worldwide have multiple works from each of these time periods and genres.

Chapter One titled, “Titian’s Musical World: Venice in the 16th Century- The Intersecting Roles of Music and Painting,” examines musical paintings of Titian and the problems and benefits of iconography. It also highlights Titian’s musical contemporaries—Verdelot, Obrecht, Ferrabosco and Willaert and supplies a model and introduction of themes and styles in the Renaissance.

Conceived as a play, **Chapter Two**, “Shakespeare And The Bassano Family”, links the Italian and English connection of music and art through the Bassano family and Shakespeare and elaborates on some more of the ideas from chapter one. It also concentrates on the play *The Merchant of Venice*.

Chapter Three, “Dutch and Flemish Art and Music in the Seventeenth Century,” focuses on the role of guilds, the use of variation in both music and visual art, and the ideas of vanitas, allegory and family in Dutch and Flemish painting.

Chapter Four, “Exploration and The “New” world: Music and Imagery from an Aztec Play *The Final Judgment*,” discusses music and religious imagery from the play and the influence of religion and the adaptation of Christianity by natives.

Finally, **Chapter Five**, “Watteau a Musical Painter: the progression of theater and galant style in the 18th century,” brings us to the end of the early modern period and provides a window into the French ideas of music and art and how these ideas tie into Venice as well as Dutch realism.

These studies came about as a result of the author’s extensive and varied experiences creating and participating in programs of this nature for major institutions such as the Indianapolis Museum of Art, Chateau Versailles, and The National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. It is hoped that by presenting these approaches to enriching the

experience of historically-informed musical performance, that not only will musicians themselves find more meaning in what they do; but, audiences will become engaged and deeply connected to what can sometimes seem a moribund and irrelevant artistic inheritance. Music and art in museums bind together to provide a universal language.

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Chapter 1

Titian's Musical World: Venice in the Sixteenth Century The Intersecting Roles of Music and Painting

One strong potential for a collaborative approach revolves around the works of Titian.¹ In Venice during the sixteenth century, musicians, writers and painters interacted in varied and complex ways. Titian's paintings and the influence of his world (his friends, patrons, popular music and subjects) are a reflection of the broader ideas and interdependence of the arts in the sixteenth century. One way to appreciate the many interactions possible among artists is to examine the stories and build an exhibition around the people and symbols behind Titian's paintings.

Titian is a good choice because many major art museums in the United States own one or more paintings by Titian or his studio. For example, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City lists 225 works by or related to Titian.² Other painters of this period, including Giorgione (c1477-1510), Veronese (1528-1588), and Tintoretto (c1518-1594), also made important contributions; but, it is fair to say that among them Titian stands out as one of the best representatives of this time and place, especially in musical iconography. Titian was also known as a musician and a lover of music and this enhances his ability to depict music in his artworks.³

This chapter will begin to elaborate on Titian's musical paintings. The paintings examined, in chronological order, are:

¹ He is also known as Tiziano or Tiziano Vecellio, c.1485-1576.

² Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Search the Collections" <http://www.metmuseum.org/search-results?ft=Titian&x=0&y=0> (accessed June 13, 2012).

³ He is depicted playing violone in *The Wedding Feast at Cana*, which is addressed in Chapter 2. Titian's paintings often contain specific pieces of music and include portraits of musicians and composers.

Sleeping Venus c. 1510 (Giorgione and Titian)

The Concert (or *The Interrupted Concert*) c. 1510

Worship of Venus c. 1518–20

Bacchanal of the Andrians c. 1523–26

The Venus of Urbino, 1538

Venus and Cupid with an Organist c. 1545–48

Venus and Cupid with an Organist and a Dog c. 1548–1549

Venus with an Organist and a Dog c. 1550

Felipe II 1550–1551

Venus with a Lutenist c.1565

Venus with a Lutenist (Holkham Venus) c.1565–7

The appendix will identify musical works to accompany both this essay and a potential collaborative exhibition at a museum. I will also explore the meanings implied in Titian's compositions, which include complex arrangements of the goddess Venus, musicians, instruments, plants, landscapes, and other graphical elements that depict a sense of theater. The main composers discussed are Verdelot (c.1480-c.1530), Willaert (c. 1490-1562), Obrecht (c. 1457-1505) and Domenico Maria Ferrabosco (1513-1574).

The primary pieces of artwork discussed in this chapter revolve around the theme of Venus. I propose discussing the topic of Venus before engaging Titian's more overtly musical topics because examining the artist's approach to this subject will help us to construct an interpretative model that we can return to when refocusing our attention towards music. There are at least seventeen large-scale paintings that Titian painted with

Venus as the subject. Among these is his famous *Venus of Urbino* from 1538 (Fig. 1). His *Worship of Venus* c. 1518–20 (Fig. 2) was his first independently painted work on this topic. Titian's very first work on the theme of Venus, which is a completion of his teacher Giorgione's painting, *Sleeping Venus* c. 1510 (Fig. 3), should perhaps be considered Titian's first "Venus work".

Figure 1, *Venus of Urbino*.⁴



⁴ Web Gallery of Art, *The Venus of Urbino*, <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?html/t/tiziano/08/08urbino.html>, (accessed August 6, 2012). Original in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Figure 2, *Worship of Venus*⁵



⁵Web Gallery of Art, “<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/t/tiziano/08a/1ferra1.html>, (accessed August 8, 2012).

Figure 3, *Sleeping Venus*⁶



The choice of Venus as a subject, as well as her pose, are clearly influenced by his teacher Giorgione (and of course from the rebirth of the classical themes during the Renaissance), and also pay homage to the studio from which he came. Titian's repetition of the Venus theme is not unlike the idea of the parody mass in which a composer would take the song or madrigal of another and use it as a basis for his own work. Relevant examples exist throughout the Renaissance. Titian's Venus paintings also influence later Venus works, and the theme still makes its way into contemporary art.⁷

An important theme in the portrayal of Venus as an artistic subject relates to the idea of the goddess as a representation of the city of Venice. Patricia Fortini Brown states that in 1466, a manuscript charts the position of the constellations above Venice at midday on the city's supposed birthday on March 25, 421 CE. In this chart, the planet Venus was placed in the sign of Aries during the month of March, indicating that Venice had already "symbolically identified with Venus in her persona as a goddess."⁸

⁶ *Sleeping Venus*. Photograph. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Web. 8 Aug. 2012. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/media/11070>>. Original in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, Germany. The size is 108.5 × 175 cm.

⁷ One of the more famous modern depictions of Venus is Manet's *Olympia*.

⁸ Patricia Fortini Brown. *Venice & Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past*. New Haven:

Furthermore, Sanudo states in his book *De origine* (1493) the legend that “this city was first built on the island of Rialto...in 421 [CE] on the twenty-fifth day of March on the day of Venus [Friday] around the hour of midday.”⁹ The rebirth of ideas, beliefs and writings about Venus and Venice at the end of the 15th century could very well have inspired Giorgione and his pupil Titian in their portraits of Venus.

A remarkable synthesis of mythological themes, musical topics, and a representation of a composer of music can be found in Titian’s two works *Venus with a Lutenist* c.1565 (Fig. 4) and *Venus with a Lutenist* (Holkham Venus) c.1565–7 (Fig. 5).

Figure 4, *Venus with a Lutenist* (Fitzwilliam Museum)¹⁰



Yale University Press, 1996: 176.

⁹ Ibid., 178.

¹⁰ <http://www.fitzwilliamprints.com/image/702000/>, (accessed, August 6, 2012).

Figure 5, *Venus with a Lutenist* (Holkham Venus) (Metropolitan Museum)¹¹



Part of a painting's story is the identification of the sitters, and in some paintings of this extraordinarily collaborative period of time, composers are depicted. The identification of composers in Renaissance painting is a very important and difficult task. The most concrete evidence that we have in determining a composer affiliated in a painting by Titian comes from the music depicted in this painting. In the article "Titian: The Fitzwilliam Venus", Studdert-Kennedy writes that the musicologist Einstein makes out the name of the composer "Verdelot" when he closely reads the open page backwards; citing additional evidence, Einstein identifies the people in the picture as

¹¹ <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110002280>. Accessed August 6, 2012.

Franceschina and Messer Hippolito.¹²

These paintings have the exact same positioning of the musician and Venus with different backgrounds and props as Titian's first paintings of Venus with a musician in his paintings of *Venus and the Organ Player* (See Figures 8-10). The main change, besides the difference in trees in the background of these two versions with the lute player, is that in the Fitzwilliam version the music is a little bit more legible.

There are also many lute intabulations of entire masses and madrigals (and for that matter organ intabulations) during the period, and it is significant that Titian chooses organ and lute for the men of the paintings to play.¹³ This could suggest that these men are capable of "playing all the parts." The lute and Venus paintings also show that these people and instruments play together. Venus is holding a recorder in both works and there is a viola da gamba set off to the side, which most likely belongs to the lutenist (note the tradition of lutenists playing gamba as well because of the similar tunings). The instruments and the scattered part books around the room suggest that while the lutenist plays by himself for the moment, he also plays together with Venus. By displaying the music and an instrument in Venus' hand, the painting also provides additional evidence of instrumental versions of madrigals. One could think of the lutenist paintings as a sequel to the relationship of the musician and Venus after the Venus and organ paintings (and of course they were painted later). The musician in these paintings certainly looks a

¹² W. G. Studdert-Kennedy. "Titian: The Fitzwilliam Venus". *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 100, No. 667 (Oct., 1958): 348-351. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/872569> (Accessed on September 17, 2012). Also, Messer Hippolito and Franceschini seem to be musical friends of Titian. Titian's friend Arentino wrote letters to provide evidence of this. Copies of this letters are found in: James Northcote. *The Life of Titian: With Anecdotes of the Distinguished Persons of the Time, Volume 2*. (London: Henry Colburn, 1830): 225.

¹³In fact, Willaert arranged some of Verdelot's Madrigals for solo voice and lute. Alain Aubin and Jean Michel Robert made a CD recording in 2000 of some of Willaert's arrangements on the Sonpact label.

lot like the boy in the first of *Venus and Cupid with an Organist* paintings.¹⁴

The location of Venus and the respective musicians on opposite sides of the painting echoes the musical effect of the groups of instruments or choruses in opposing galleries that were often represented in the Basilica of St. Marks in Venice. It is known that the second organ in St. Marks' Basilica in Venice was built in 1389.¹⁵ The curtain with the landscape behind suggests the idea that nature – and by extension, the world – is the audience. One could say the same about the altar, the congregation, and God as the intended audience for music. One could also interpret the curtain between the inside and the outside in a more secular context. In the secular interpretative framework, the painting can represent an allegory of musical culture against the pastoral aesthetic if one keeps in mind that Venus also represents the city of Venice. The portrayal of the curtain buttresses the idea that we may locate this artwork within the milieu of the theater, an analysis that is reinforced by the notable use of perspective and characteristically theatrical tableau.

Venus also represents another aspect of Renaissance life: *Venus of Urbino* (Fig. 1) could well have been a courtesan. We have many records of the courtesan and the courtier life, and records exist of the instruments they owned. Books that elaborate on these collections and the pastimes of the courtesan include one of the most important works of the period: *The Book of the Courtier* by Castiglione.¹⁶ The floral crown that cupid puts on Venus' head supports the interpretation of Venus as a courtesan through the

¹⁴ The topic of Venus and rebirth is also an appropriate one for Titian and his contemporaries: notably, Venice is said to be the "Rebirth of Rome" after Rome was sacked.

¹⁵ Gerald Stares Bedbrook. *Keyboard Music from the Middle Ages To the Beginnings of the Baroque*. 2nd edition (Da Capo Press, New York, 1973): 52.

¹⁶ The most famous courtesan of 16th century Venice was Veronica Franco. Please see Margaret Rosenthal. *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, citizen and writer in sixteenth-century Venice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

iconography of the goddess of spring, Flora.¹⁷ An article by the Rosands cites *Flora meretrice* as patroness of the courtesans.¹⁸ Some believe the courtesans identified with the goddess Danaë.¹⁹ The crown on Venus' head also suggests that she is queen of the courtesans and knows that beauty is fleeting. Perhaps, Titian combines the different goddesses into one person or symbol (e.g. Venice).

From Willaert's arrangement of Verdelot's madrigals, we know that the two were closely acquainted.²⁰ This knowledge leads us to another important painting containing both a Venus theme and a link to a piece of music, namely Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (Fig. 6). It is one of three paintings that were commissioned by Alfonso d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara (*Feast of Venus* and *Ariadne* are the other two.) The subject stems from the request of Alfonso to use an idea from Isabella d'Este's copy of Philostratus' *Imagines*. Philostratus described paintings in a house outside of Naples circa 190 CE that depicted the mythical island of Andros, where there is a river made of wine. He describes this river as "a truth divine...as the river is drunk, it flows on without ever exhausting its course."²¹ Titian also often referred to his mythological paintings as *poesie* or "visual

¹⁷In fact, Titian painted his own *Flora* portrait circa 1515-20 that is now in the Uffizi gallery.

¹⁸David Rosand and Ellen Rosand. "'Barbara di Santa Sofia' and 'Il Prete Genovese': On the Identity of a Portrait by Bernardo Strozzi." *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Jun., 1981): 249-258. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3050115> Accessed September 12, 2013.

¹⁹Cathy Santore. "Danaë: The Renaissance Courtesan's Alter Ego" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*. 54. Bd., H. 3 (1991): 412-427. Titian also painted *Danaë with Cupid*. Santore quotes della Casa in translation on page 415 "...della Casa refers to the *Danaë* as simply a nude, and not just any nude, but one that would raise the devil in a decrepit Cardinal known for his piety, and one that would in comparison, make the *Venus of Urbino* look like a Theatine nun." Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1482582> Accessed September 12, 2013.

²⁰H. Colin Slim and Stefano La Via. "Verdelot, Philippe." Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed September 15, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29190>. The arrangement is from 1536.

²¹Gertrude P. Smith. "The Canon in Titian's *Bacchanal*." *Renaissance News*. Vol. 6, No. 3/4 (Autumn - Winter, 1953): 52-56.

poetry,”²² which provides yet another link between Titian, Philostratus and Renaissance ideals of the time.

Figure 6, *Bacchanal of the Andrians*²³



In the painting, one can see a canon that is possibly composed by Willaert at the base of Venus’ feet, in front of the two recorder players.²⁴ After his study in Paris, Williaert obtained a post with Alfonse d’Este thanks to Ferrara’s links with the French royal chapel.²⁵ Willaert was in the service of Alfonso d’Este while Titian was painting his *Bacchanal*, a fact that strongly suggests that he is the organist depicted in *Venus and*

²² Department of European Paintings. "Titian (ca. 1488–1576)." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tita/hd_tita.htm (October 2003), accessed August 6, 2012.

²³ http://artchive.com/artchive/T/titian/titian_andrians.jpg.html accessed June 16, 2012. Original at the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (1523-1526).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Lewis Lockwood and Ongaro et. al. "Willaert, Adrian." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40122>. Accessed February 15, 2013.

the Organ Player. Willaert later became the famous *maestro di cappella* at St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, a post he took in 1527 shortly after Titian finished the *Bacchanal* in 1526.²⁶

The mirror canon in the painting, possibly by Willaert, is not completely solved. The text of the canon states “Qui boit et ne reboit, il ne sait que boire soit.” This roughly translates to “He who drinks and does not drink again, does not know what drinking is.”²⁷ Gertrude Smith (see Fig. 7a)²⁸ offers a solution to the mirror canon in her article (with the original version of the canon in the painting just below her solution) and Thurston Dart offers a rebuttal (see Fig. 7b)²⁹ in the comments section of a later issue of *Renaissance News*. A combination of these two scholars' approaches might yield the correct answer, as Thurston Dart chooses the wrong meter for his solution and both use bar lines, which are not needed in this type of transcription as there are no bar lines in the original.

The recorders that are held by the two women in this painting also provide instrumentation ideas for performing this canon at a museum or another venue. The type and choice of recorders depicted is quite helpful in identifying instruments from the early 1500s. The Venus-like figure at the bottom right of the painting also has a recorder at her foot which suggests she was previously playing the recorder before she abandoned it.

The depiction of the recorders and their players is also a topic of much discussion because of the sexual innuendo that is inherent in the playing of a recorder in this

²⁶ http://www.museodelprado.es/enciclopedia/enciclopedia-on-line/voz/bacanal-de-los-andrios-la/?no_cache=1 accessed June 16, 2012.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Gertrude P. Smith. “The Canon in Titian's Bacchanal.” *Renaissance News*. Vol. 6, No. 3/4 (Autumn–Winter, 1953): 54.

²⁹ Thurston Dart. “Discussion”. *Renaissance News*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring, 1954): 17.

painting as well as the role of the recorder in other paintings of Titian.³⁰ For instance, in *Venus and the Lute Player* discussed earlier, Venus is holding a recorder and this in turn relates back to the idea of Venus representing the courtesans of Venice.

Figure 7a



Figure 7b



³⁰ Griscom, Richard, and David Lasocki. *The Recorder: A Research and Information Guide*. Psychology Press, Mar 21, 2003: 68, 71, and 74.

One might be lead to ask the question of how could Titian's Venus paintings symbolize Venice and not just the idea of love if they were painted in Urbino or Ferrara? Titian grew up and trained in Venice and the idea of Venus both representing his love and affection for the city and of the idea of love is not out of the question. Titian may be using the idea to bring the ideas and values of Venice to the country. Another thought to contemplate is that when a person steps away from the place or person we can appreciate the entire object or person for what it is. The fact that the viewer sees Venus (Venice) in her entirety in these paintings means we can appreciate her better from afar.

Stephen Ackert at the Washington National Gallery of Art, H. Colin Slim and others once thought that the organist depicted in *Venus and Cupid with an Organist* (Fig. 8) was the composer, poet and keyboardist Girolamo Parabosco (c. 1524–1557).³¹ This theory has been discounted, although Slim confirms that the two knew each other. Each of the “Venus” paintings has a different man as the organist. In the third painting, the man depicted is most likely Titian's greatest patron, the young Philip of Spain, son of Charles the V.³² The 21-year-old Prince Philip and Titian met in December of 1548 and Titian painted Charles' portrait that year and Philip's portrait between 1550-1551 (Fig. 11).³³

While other influential composers are certainly possibilities for the organist in

³¹ H. Colin Slim, review of “Umanità e arte di Gerolamo Parabosco Madrigalista, Organista e Poligrafo (Piacenza, c. 1524, Venezia, 1557) by Francesco Bussi; Composizioni a due, tre, quattro, cinque e sei voci by Gerolamo Parabosco; Francesco Bussi.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Autumn, 1964): 402. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/830104> (accessed September 17, 2012).

This article alludes to the fact that this attribution was made and might be false. Then later in his article on Parabosco in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, he confirms that the attribution is false.

³² Rona Goffen, *Titian's Women*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 160. For proof that the man in the painting is Phillip II, Goffen references a portrait bust of the 21-year-old Prince from the shop of Leone Leoni.

³³ Filippo Pedrocchi, *Titian* (New York: Rizzoli, 2001).

these Titian paintings, such as Verdelot and Willaert, Domenico Maria Ferrabosco is another candidate for the organist and composer in this painting; this plausible theory has surprisingly not been discussed at length by musicologists or art historians, even though Ferrabosco would appropriately complement and enhance an exhibition on Titian. Another reason to posit another composer in these paintings is to illustrate the method that a musician or curator might go through in trying to prove another composer's validity for a program. Some confusion can result in the similarity of the previously mentioned Parrabosco and Ferrabosco's names. Ferrabosco was part of Titian's world and his influence can be shown in various important families throughout Europe. Another important link to a larger repertory for programming music for exhibitions and theaters is that Domenico Maria Ferrabosco was also the patriarch of a line of famous musicians that influenced the art and politics of both Italy and England. His son Alfonso Ferrabosco became famous at the court of Elizabeth I and Alfonso's eldest and illegitimate son, also named Alfonso, is cited as "the most accomplished, innovative and influential composer of chamber music for viols and songs for court masques of his generation in England."³⁴ The mention of Ferrabosco provides a good connection to Chapter 2 of this project.

How was Domenico Maria Ferrabosco tied to Titian? First, both men were associated with the city of Ferrara. It was the hometown of Ferrabosco's wife, and he went often between Bologna, Ferrara and Rome for various jobs especially during the years 1545–1555. Ferrara was governed by the Este family, to which Titian was closely connected; he made many portraits of family members such as Alfonso I d'Este (1476–

³⁴ Christopher D.S. Field: 'Alfonso Ferrabosco,' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), viii, 700.

1534).³⁵ Furthermore, both Ferrabosco and Titian were associated with the Duke of Urbino.

Ferrabosco and Titian were both also crucially associated with Venice. Ferrara was strongly linked to Venice's musical and arts culture, due in no small degree to the fact that Venice was the undisputed publication center of madrigal compositions in the 1540s. Ferrabosco's only published book of madrigals was published in Venice and dedicated to Guidobaldo II, duke of Urbino in 1542.³⁶ Located at almost exactly the halfway point between Venice and Rome, Urbino is approximately 200 miles from each and was a convenient stopping point while travelling between these important cities. Titian painted a *Venus of Urbino* in 1538 — an earlier inspiration for *Venus and Cupid with an Organist*.

The two artists were also associated with Rome. Giorgio Vasari, in his book *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, describes Titian's time in Rome in the year 1546, during which he painted several portraits for Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino; his son Orazio painted a portrait of Messer Battista Ceciliano (who was reportedly an "excellent player on the bass viol").³⁷ Also, Domenico Ferrabosco became the *magister puerorum* in the Cappella Giulia in Rome in 1546, so the two artists were definitely in Rome at the same time. However, Ferrabosco did not stay long and was in

³⁵ Domenico Ferrabosco's son Alfonso (1543-1588), also may be named after Duke Alfonso II d'Este (1533-1597). As a side note, Cipriano de Rore, originally from Flanders, was *maestro di cappella* at the court of Duke Ercole II d'Este in Ferrara from 1546-59 and he wrote "a motet (*Hesperiae cum laeta*) on a text by Ferrarese poet and diplomat Girolamo Faletti, which describes a painting by Girolamo Carpi of Anna [d'Este] portrayed as Venus (Lowinsky)" as cited in the article by Jessie Ann Owens. "Rore, Cipriano de." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed February 15, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23815>. Rore continues the tradition of Venus in music.

³⁶Richard Charteris, ed. *Domenico Maria Ferrabosco Opera Omnia*, trans. by Nerida Newbigin, (Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1992), xi.

³⁷ Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*. Translated by Gaston du C. de Vere (New York: Random House, 2006): 460.

Bologna again by 1547.³⁸ James Haar cites Ferrabosco's setting of "Io mi son giovinetta," published in 1542, as one of the most famous madrigals of the century.³⁹ This madrigal was well known by musicians and artists because it is contained in 46 anthologies and 16 manuscript sources in the period 1542–1546.⁴⁰ The text of "Io mi son giovinetta" comes from *The Decameron* by Boccaccio, which is a text and theme that comes up in many other music and artworks of this period.⁴¹ The pastoral theme of the text of this madrigal, which resurfaces in many Renaissance paintings, is woven throughout the three Titian paintings *Venus and Cupid with an Organist* c. 1545–48 (Fig. 8), *Venus with an Organist and a Dog* c. 1550 (Fig. 9) and *Venus and Cupid with an Organist and a Dog* c. 1548–1549 (Fig. 10).

Figure 8, *Venus and Cupid with an Organist*, Museo del Prado⁴²



³⁸ John V. Cockshoot: 'Domenico Maria Ferrabosco,' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), viii, 691-692.

³⁹ James Haar: 'Madrigal: II. Italy: 1535-50: Arcadelt; the madrigal in Venice,' *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40075> (Accessed April 13, 2006).

⁴⁰ John V. Cockshoot: 'Domenico Maria Ferrabosco,' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), viii, 692.

⁴¹ F. W. Sternfeld, "In Cantu et in Sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday" *Music & Letters*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (1990): 232. www.jstor.org/stable/736441 (accessed August 8, 2012). This article refers to this excerpt of *The Decameron* among other things.

⁴² *The Athenaeum*, "Search the Collections," <http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=37041> (accessed August 8, 2012).

Figure 9, *Venus with an Organist and a Dog*, Museo del Prado⁴³

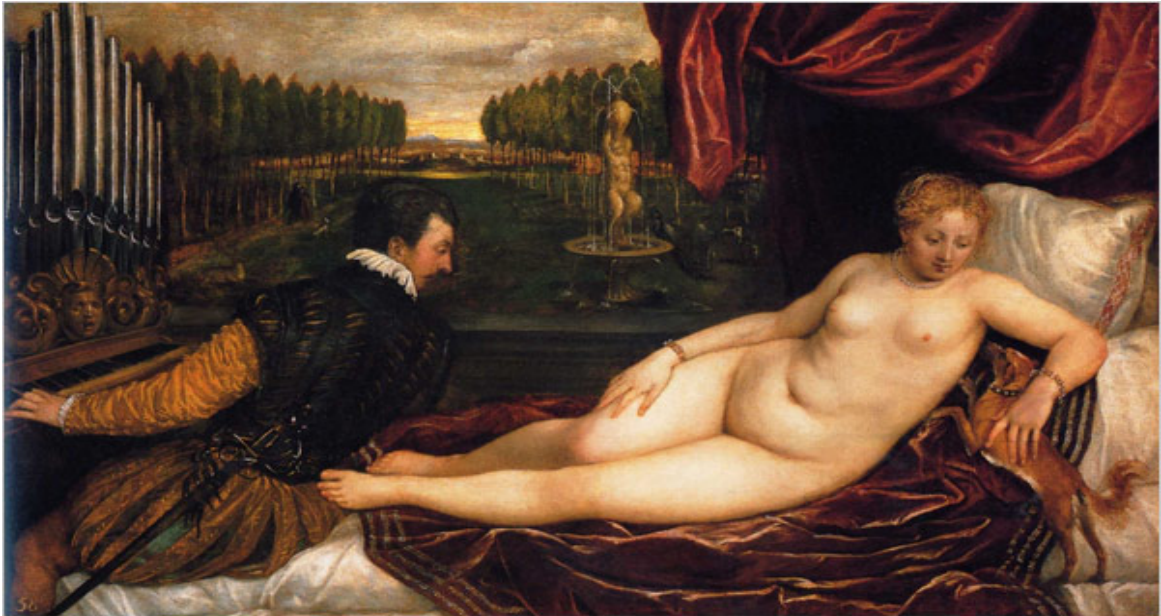
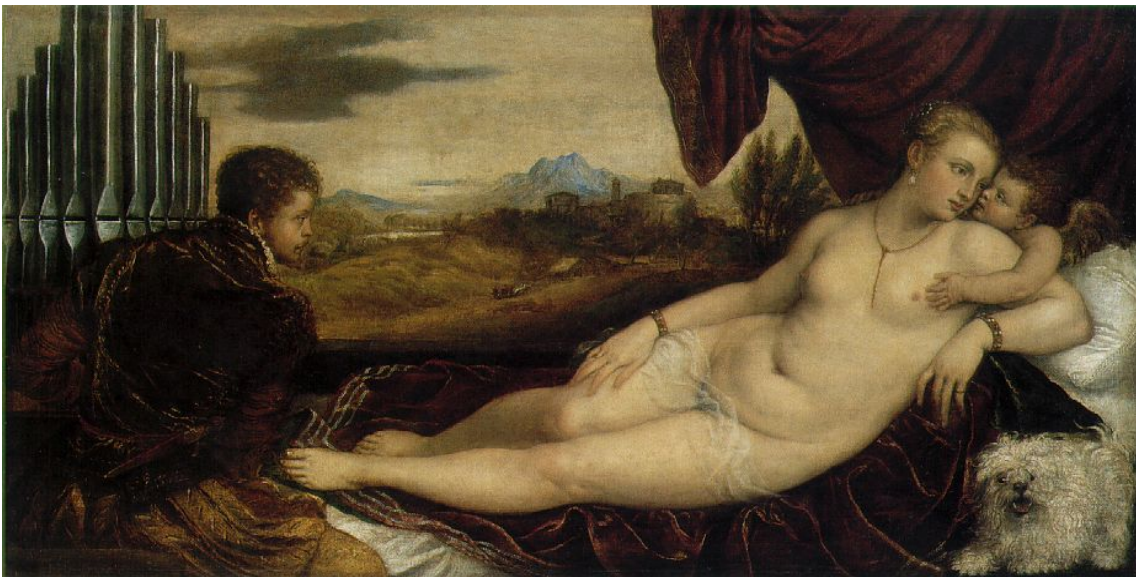


Figure 10, *Venus and Cupid with an Organist and a Dog*, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin⁴⁴



⁴³ The Athenaeum, "Search the Collections," <http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=37043> (Accessed August 8, 2012).

⁴⁴ The Athenaeum, "Search the Collections," <http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=37042>, (accessed August 8, 2012).

Figure 11, *Felipe II*, Museo del Prado⁴⁵



In particular, Palestrina must have known Ferrabosco's madrigal, since two of his parody masses are based on tunes that derive from it.⁴⁶ This idea also helps with programming music for art exhibitions. Masses as well as secular works can both coexist within the same musical program if one keeps this idea in mind. Programming masses and secular works together alludes to the subject of many paintings of this era as well: the juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane.

The worlds of Ferrabosco and Titian continue to have similarities that are

⁴⁵Museo Del Prado, "Search the Collections," <http://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/felipe-ii-5/> (accessed November 8, 2013). This shows the similarity of Phillip and the organist in Figure 10.

⁴⁶ John V. Cockshott: 'Domenico Maria Ferrabosco,' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001): 692.

reflected in literature of their contemporaries. Newbigin identifies other classical motifs adapted from Virgil and Ovid through the Florentine and Neapolitan humanists of the fifteenth century in the madrigals of Ferrabosco. Ferrabosco set a stanza of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516)⁴⁷ in his madrigal "Li sdegni, le repulse, e finalmente." Titian's name is mentioned in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* of 1532.⁴⁸ Titian also painted two different portraits of Ariosto (1474–1533, and native of Ferrara). Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* is a poem about literary movements and spirituality in the Renaissance, and is a sequel to Boiardo's poem *Orlando innamorato*⁴⁹ (this shows the continuation of the principle of homage and imitation that Giorgione and Titian show, as mentioned before.) Ariosto was a contemporary of Titian and Ferrabosco and although Ferrabosco only uses one text by Ariosto in his collection of madrigals, the text is truly a reflection of the time. The early Renaissance poet Petrarch (1304–1374) and his contemporary Boccaccio were staple authors for most madrigal settings.

Of course there are many more paintings by Titian with musicians, and one could spill much more ink in extrapolating their significance. Lovers of art and music are encouraged to explore the musical selections at the end of this chapter and produce concerts with Titian and music in mind. My discussion concludes with an analysis of Titian's *The Concert* (or *The Interrupted Concert*) c. 1510 (Fig. 12). This painting provides another window on the conflict between the sacred and profane that occurred in Venice. The "Venus" paintings also help set up this same situation of juxtaposing contrast and conflict.

⁴⁷ *Domenico Maria Ferrabosco Opera Omnia*. Ed. Richard Charteris. Translations by Nerida Newbigin. (Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1992): XLVII.

⁴⁸ Giorgio Padoan. "Titian's Letters." From *Titian Prince of Painters*. (Munich: Prestel, 1990): 43.

⁴⁹ Ariosto, Ludovico. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9009432> (accessed April 18, 2006).

Figure 12, *The Concert*, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Italy c. 1510⁵⁰



The man in the center of the painting is playing a keyboard instrument called a *virginale* (English “virginal”) or *spinetta* or *spinettina*. The name of the instrument might play some significance in the painting, as the word *virginale* does evoke the image of a girl, but the etymology of the word for the instrument is disputed.⁵¹ This painting is often compared to Titian’s painting *Three Ages of Man* (c. 1511–12) because its subject-matter revolves around three different ages of men: young, middle aged, and old. Furthermore it illustrates different roles of men both at court and in the church.

There is much speculation about the musicians in the painting and what these characters signify. Vasari believed that they were Philippe Delogues (known as Verdelot

⁵⁰ http://www.artchive.com/artchive/T/titian/titian_concert.jpg.html. Accessed August 6, 2012.

⁵¹ "virginal(s)" *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*. ed. Michael Kennedy and Joyce Kennedy. *Oxford Reference Online*. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t76.e9551> (accessed July 7, 2012).

or Verdelotto in Italian, who was previously referred to in the Venus and lutenist paintings) and Jacob Obrecht.⁵² Ridolfi thought they were Luther, Calvin and a nun.⁵³ However, the later hypothesis has been discredited.⁵⁴

Obrecht may be added to our collection of composers for an exhibit or concert along with Willaert, Verdelot and Ferrabosco. Obrecht, then quite a famous musician in fact, visited Ferrara by request of the Duke Ercole of Ferrara from 1487-1490. After his return and subsequent illness in Bruges he relinquished his posts, and travelled to Ferrara in 1504 to serve the Duke. The Duke Ercole passed away in January 1505 and the new Duke, Alfonso I – also a performer on the viol – kept Obrecht until the composer’s death later that year.⁵⁵ All of this suggests a motivation for Titian’s “memorial portrait” of Obrecht. Vasari also recounts the scene of Obrecht and Verdelot sitting together for their Venetian portrait painted by Sebastiano Viniziano.⁵⁶

The painting may be a depiction of time passing, and it seems that the man depicted in the middle must make a decision — but it is up to the viewer to imagine what the decision is. Will he play with a vocalist or the instrumentalist, the older monk character holding the viola da gamba? Or is the man in the center’s choice between playing with a dancer/courtier or a serious musician of the church — the sacred versus the profane? Whichever conclusion the viewer decides upon, this painting shows action

⁵² Filippo Pedrocco, *Titian*, (New York: Rizzoli, 2001), 92.

⁵³ Susanna Biadene, ed., *Titian: Prince of Painters*. (Munich: Prestel, 1990), 144.

⁵⁴ There is even some doubt that the painting is actually by Titian. Einstein seems to think the painting might be by Lorenzo Luzzo. E.H. Ramsden writes about this topic in his book *Come, Take This Lute! A Quest for Identities in Italian Renaissance Portraiture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Element Book, 1983. Also see the review of this book James Byam Shaw, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 126, No. 974 (May, 1984): 297-298. Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/881740> (accessed September 2, 2013).

⁵⁵ E.H. Ramsden. *‘Come, Take This Lute’. A Quest for Identities in Italian Renaissance Portraiture*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Element Book, 1983), 26.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

and drama that is displayed in all the paintings previously discussed (with perhaps an exception of the portraits of single individuals.)

As I have shown, Titian's paintings exist within a complex network of composers, artists, writers, poets and patrons. These "actors" often knew one another personally, but more importantly they shared many ideas that are relevant to music of the time. Their work cannot be understood in isolation: it is essential here to speak more of a definite "school" of art. But even though this school spans diverse forms of media, anyone wishing to present specific music from this period is obliged to illuminate these more general links for a modern-day audience. Luckily, Titian and his circle left a rich body of material (some of which, as in the Venus paintings, literally focuses on the body itself,) which – with a bit of wit and insight – can be used to construct vibrant programs that elucidate these critical connections among the Renaissance arts. These works are still appreciated and examined today, and still hold much interest for audiences.

Musical Appendix

Barges, Antonino, and Adriano Willaert, Girolamo [Cavazzoni] da Bologna, Cipriano de Rore, and anonymous; *Fantasia ricercari contrapunti a tre voci: Venice, 1551*. Ed. Robert Judd. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994.

This edition is included for the works of Willaert and de Rore, who both composed pieces on the themes of Venus. Also, de Rore's motet, *Hesperiae cum laeta* (1548), as referenced in footnote 9, shows his link to Ferrara and the Titian's Venus tradition. These pieces would work well for a solo organ, in reduction for lute or with some of the instruments that are depicted in Titian's paintings.

De Rore, Cipriano. *An Illuminated Manuscript of Motets by Cipriano de Rore*. Phd thesis Jessie Ann Owens. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1979.

This manuscript is held in the Munich City Library and was copied in 1564 and has images by Hans Mielich (1516-1573) and uses the aforementioned motet by de Rore.

Desprez, Josquin. *Secular works for four voices by Josquin Deprez.* Ed. David Fallows. Utrecht, The Netherlands: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, c. 2005.

The sixteenth century lute intabulation of “Millez Regretz” was Charles the V’s favorite song and lute and harpsichord and organ renditions of many of these madrigals and motets would be very appropriate. Josquin also taught Willaert, who is considered by many to be the foundation for the Venetian School.

Ferrabosco, Domenico Maria. *Il primo libro de madrigali a quatro voci: Venice, 1542.* Jessie Ann Owens, Ed. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.

This is the primary edition of Domenico Ferrabosco’s works and his famous madrigals that were cited in this paper can be found here.

Obrecht, Jacob, *New Obrecht Edition.* Edited by Chris Maas. Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1983.

This edition contains many of Obrecht’s masses and motets as well as secular and textless compositions.

Palestrina, Giovanni, *Edizione Nazionale Delle Opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525-1594).* ed. Francesco Luisi. Rome: Editalia, 2002.

Of Palestrina’s 104 masses in this opera omnia, especially see his parody mass on Ferrabosco’s *Io mi son gioventta [primi toni]* (1542), published 1570 and his parody mass a4 on Verdelot’s *Gabriel archangelus* (1532) first published in 1554.

Various Composers, *Musica spirituale: libro primo (Venice, 1563).* Eds. Giovanni Del Bene, Katherine Powers. Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, c. 2001.

This collection of spiritual madrigals is considered the first for the genre. According to Katherine Powers, the spiritual madrigal was typically performed in more intimate venues such as courts, monasteries and convents. The texts are also more secular in nature and lend themselves to double meanings like those in Titian’s Venus paintings and especially in Titian’s *The Concert*. The composers in this edition are important to the Venetian musical landscape: Giovanni Nasco, Lambert Courtois, Vincenzo Ruffo, Grisostimo da Verona, Giovanni Contino, Adrian Willaert, Jan da Ferrara.

Various Composers, *Parodiemagnificat aus dem Umkreis der Grazer Hofkapelle: 1564–1619 /* Ed. Gernot Gruber. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1981 in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*; Bd. 133.

The works from this collection that especially work for an exhibition are: *Villanelle Venus* (for the Venus topic) and *Du und Dein Kind* by Jacob Regnart and *Chanson A la fontaine* by Adrian Willaert, which provide secular pieces for the paintings.

Various Composers, *Harmonice musices odhecaton A: one hundred songs of harmonic music: 1501* / [published by] Ottaviano Petrucci. Ed. David Fallows. Boston, MA: Amherst Early Music, c. 2005. 2 ed.

Especially take note of Loyset Compere's *Venis regrets* and Marbrianus de Orto's *Venus tu ma pris* in this edition for two pieces about Venus. It also contains several secular works by Obrecht. This collection is an edition of the first printed music and many of the other songs work as well for an exhibition or concert about Titian.

Verdelot, Philippe, *Madrigali a Sei Voci: Edizione Critica*. Pisa: ETS, 2003.

This is a critical edition of Verdelot's madrigals that were originally shown in some of Titian's paintings in part books.

Willaert, Adriano, *Ricercars from Motetta trium vocum ab pluribus authoribus composita: Venice, 1543*. Ed. Robert Judd. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994.

This edition is a helpful collection of more secular works by Willaert.

Willaert, Adriano. *Motets, voices (4), book 1 (1539)* "Tota pulchra es" by Adrian Willaert in *Die Kunst der Niederländer*. Ed. René Bernard Lenaerts. Laaber, Germany: Laaber-Verlag, 2005.

Since many of the paintings allude to multiple-part vocal settings, this Willaert collection of motets is another sampling.

Willaert, Adriano. *Madrigali e canzoni villanesche*. Willaert, Adrian, 1490?–1562. Ed. Helga Meier. American Institute of Musicology, 1977.

This earlier edition of Willaert's secular villanelle and madrigals offer even more options for an exhibit.

Chapter 2

Shakespeare and the Bassano Family

Many musical programs are made more interesting by the addition of quotations from an artist's manuscripts or those of contemporaries, to provide a mood and context for the musical works. A good source of such material can be found in treatises published in the form of dialogues by musicians and painters during the early modern period. Works such as *Rameau's Nephew* by Diderot, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* by Thomas Morely and *Il Desiderio* by Hercole Bottrigari are fine examples of this type of rhetoric framed in a dramatic dialogue. By framing a musical presentation for an exhibition in a dialogue, one can further the audience's understanding of the artist and the time period. This chapter provides another template for a museum or theatrical setting, containing ideas and paintings from the members of the musical Bassano family, Jacopo Bassano the painter (c. 1510–1592, aka Jacopo dal Ponte), Shakespeare and other artists.

I have created a sample script in the form of a pastiche,⁵⁷ made up of quotations from plays pertinent to the relationship between Shakespeare and the Bassano family and their trip to Venice together between the end of 1593 and February 1594. This trip of Shakespeare and the Bassanos was brought to my attention through the research help of David Lasocki and an article by Roger Prior, "Shakespeare's Visit to Italy."⁵⁸ These men seem to have taken the trip to both see extended family, escape the plague and they also investigated glove-making possibilities (the town of Bassano was a center of silk and

⁵⁷ The pastiche genre has recently been revived by the Metropolitan Opera in their production of "The Enchanted Island" among others. It was quite a popular form in the 17th and 18th centuries. See <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/02/arts/music/the-enchanted-island-at-the-metropolitan-opera-review.html?pagewanted=all>, accessed October 16, 2012 for a review.

⁵⁸ Roger Prior, "Shakespeare's Visit to Italy" (*Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies* 9, 2008), 1-31.

leather trade and Shakespeare's father was a glove maker and he was also involved in the trade)⁵⁹. I have also included two sonnets that are generally accepted to be about Emilia Bassano (aka the Dark Lady) and excerpts from Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice* to help illuminate the musical pieces and help the flow of the program.

The Merchant of Venice is particularly linked with the Bassano family. The romantic lead character's name is Bassanio, and the play has many allusions to the town of Bassano and their affiliation with Venice as well as the Bassano family's Jewish roots. The Bassano's original Jewish name was Piva (bagpipes) before they left for Venice around 1515. They were famous as players and instrument makers, and may have been the inventors of the dulcian since there are many early dulcians with their maker's mark.⁶⁰ In addition to music by the Anglo-Venetian and Venetian Bassanos, this sample program also includes quite a few later pieces by other composers in order to show the evolution of the role of painting, music and musical instruments during this period.

Roger Prior states that Jacopo Bassano painted a mural including many musical instruments in the town Bassano del Grappa, northwest of Venice.⁶¹ He painted it for the dal Corno family.⁶² See figures 1–3.⁶³ The mural has since been transferred to a museum in the town of Bassano to protect it from the elements. Jacopo also had a studio in which he helped train his sons to continue his painting business.⁶⁴ His son Leandro produced many secular and sacred paintings that help us to gain a picture of what Shakespeare's

⁵⁹Ibid, 5.

⁶⁰ Maggie Kilbey. *Curtal, Dulcian, Bajón*. (Wiltshire: Antony Rowe Ltd., 2002), 31.

⁶¹ W. R. Rearick, "Jacopo Bassano's Later Genre Paintings" (*The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 110, no. 782, May 1968), 241-249.

⁶² The name *dal Corno* means, of course, "of the horn."

⁶³ Alessandro Ballarin and Giuliana Ericani. *Jacopo Bassano e lo Stupendo Inganno Dell'Occio*. (Milano: Modadori Electa S.p.A., 2010), 74-75. Photos depicted in these figures are contained in the book.

⁶⁴ *Metropolitan Museum of Art*. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bass/hd_bass.htm (accessed July 9, 2012).

time in Venice might have been like. Some of the characters in Leandro's portraits are also characters in Shakespeare's plays. These paintings are listed in the catalog at the end of this chapter.

Figure 1, Detail of Cornetti from a mural in the town of Bassano.



Figure 2, detail from a mural in the town of Bassano.



Figure 3, detail from a mural in the town of Bassano.



Jacopo Bassano ranks among other well-known painters of this era linked to the Bassano family.⁶⁵ Many more paintings by Veronese (b. Verona 1528, d. Venice 1588) hang in major collections and Veronese's painting *The Wedding Feast at Cana* (1562–1563) depicts Giovanni Bassano, a well-known cornetto player and composer in Venice and a cousin of the six Bassano brothers that lived in England at the time. *The Wedding Feast at Cana* also shows the mural style that was popular in the area of Venice because of the grand scale of the painting (see figures 4–7).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Several major exhibitions of Jacopo Bassano's work have occurred in the last ten years, including one in Fort Worth, TX.

⁶⁶ *The Wedding Feast at Cana* is now held at the Louvre museum in Paris in a room on the opposite wall from the *Mona Lisa*.

Figure 4, *The Wedding Feast at Cana*.



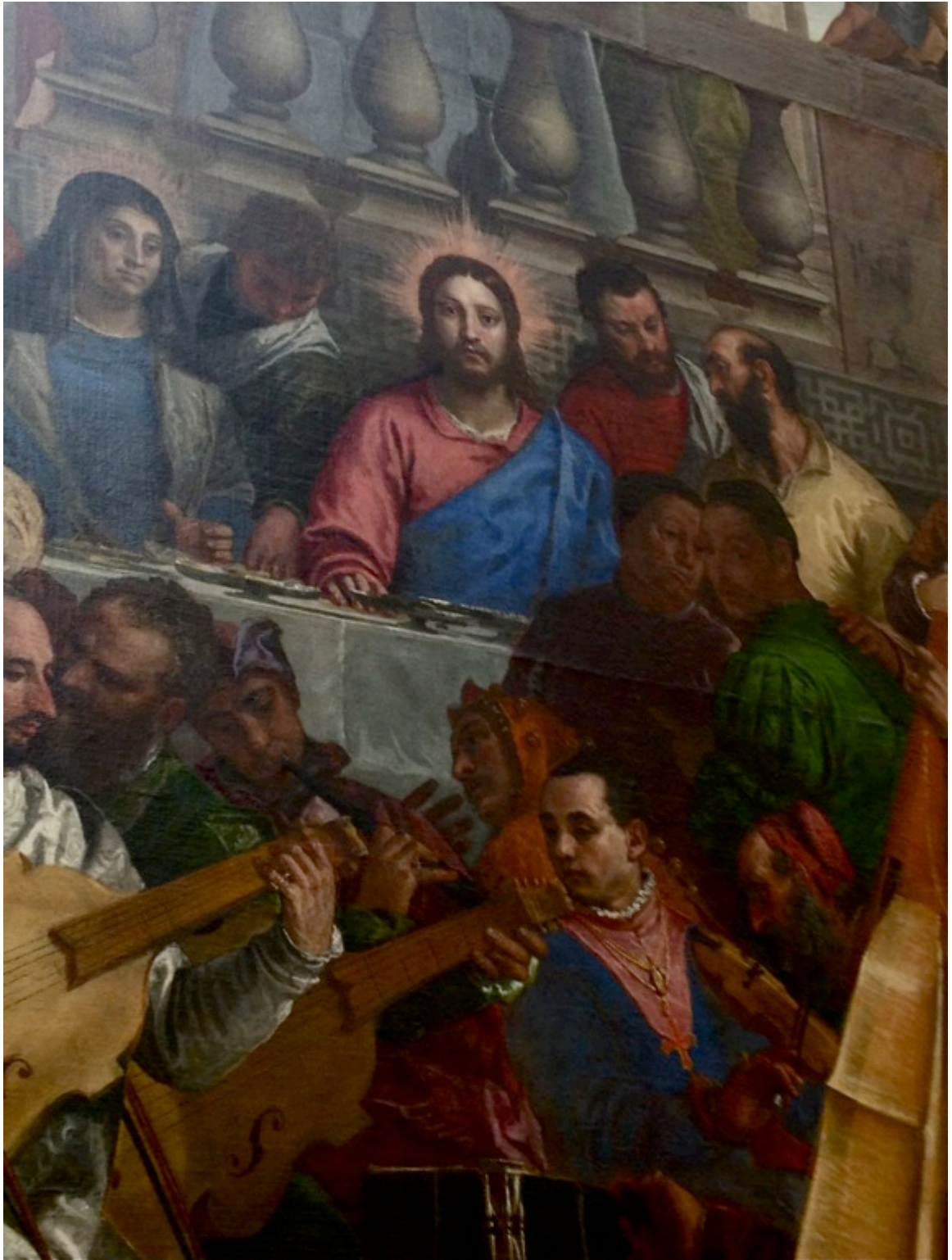
Figure 5, *The Wedding Feast at Cana*, detail included to show the scale of the painting



Figure 6. Detail of Giovanni Bassano and Titian (see Chapter 1) playing together in *The Wedding Feast at Cana*. Bassano is playing the cornetto and Titan is playing the violone.



Figure 7, Detail from *The Wedding Feast at Cana*.



A Pastiche – Fantasy of William Shakespeare and Emilia Bassano

What follows is a potential program incorporating music with excerpts from various Shakespeare works. At the top of each section is a musical piece, a reading and finally a commentary (in brackets) about why a certain excerpt was chosen to be read by the audience. A painting list after this *Pastiche – Fantasy* includes art works that could be projected behind the performers. I chose to focus more on instrumental music in this particular program due to the connection with the Bassano family. While I did not include the songs Shakespeare referenced in the *Merchant of Venice*, certainly there are several songs that could be easily inserted into this program, such as *Rich Jew* and others, that are found and referenced in Ross Duffin's excellent book *Shakespeare's Songbook*.⁶⁷ The texts can be spoken by the participating musicians, or actors could be hired - one female and one male. Each text could represent an excerpt of a letter or a conversation of Shakespeare and Emilia Bassano.

1. Augustine Bassano (d. 1604), Pavana Bassano with Sonnet 128:

Shakespeare: Sonnet 128

How oft when thou, my music, music play'st,
Upon that blessed wood whose motion sounds
With thy sweet fingers when thou gently sway'st
The wiry concord that mine ear confounds,
Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap,
To kiss the tender inward of thy hand,
Whilst my poor lips which should that harvest reap,
At the wood's boldness by thee blushing stand.
To be so tickled they would change their state
And situation with those dancing chips,
O'er whom thy fingers walk with gentle gait,
Making dead wood more blest than living lips,
Since saucy jacks so happy are in this,
Give them thy fingers, me thy lips to kiss.

⁶⁷ Ross W. Duffin and Stephen Orgel. *Shakespeare's Songbook*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004).

[Probably the earliest surviving music (according to David Lasocki) by members of the Bassano family who moved to England is called *Pavana Bassano*.⁶⁸ It is most likely by Augustine (Andrew) Bassano. It might have been originally written for the court recorder consort of descant in d, treble in g, tenor in c and bass in f (or the respective dulcians or shawms at court). Versions of these pieces are preserved in several manuscripts, most notably from Susanne van Soldt's keyboard book (1579). However, the compositional style is most likely from the 1550s. Thus, performers could choose to play this piece (or the others like it) on keyboard or in a consort. Shakespeare's Sonnet 128 likely refers to Emilia Bassano's musical talent as well as their love for each other.⁶⁹ It is also further proof of Shakespeare's love of music.]

2. Giovanni Bassano (1560/61–1617): Fantasia 6 (1585) with Shakespeare:

Sonnet 153

[These Fantasias, which will appear twice more in the program, are from *Fantasia a tre voci* (1585) written by Giovanni Bassano for unspecified instruments. Giovanni was a cousin of the English Bassanos⁷⁰ and a famous cornetto player in Venice. He later succeeded Girolamo Dalla Casa at St. Mark's in 1601. These pieces echo the three-part ricercars of Adrian Willaert, another former music director at the St. Mark's Cathedral. The word fantasy or fantasia has many meanings and Shakespeare's sonnet 153 could

⁶⁸ David Lasocki and Roger Prior. *The Bassanos: Anglo-Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers at the English Court, 1531–1665* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995).

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ See graph the hard copy of the *New Grove* article on The Bassanos.

definitely be described as a “fantasy” in the literal sense because Cupid and Diana do not exist in reality.

Sonnet 153 is one of only two sonnets with a traceable source. It is a variation on an early Greek classical epigram by Marianus Scholasticus that was republished in the 16th century. Translations into English of this and other Greek epigrams were published in 1603.⁷¹ I have included the sonnet for further evidence of Shakespeare’s love of his mistress Emilia Bassano and for the classical imagery that was contained in so many paintings during that time. The cupid imagery is also referenced in the next divisions by Giovanni Bassano on the madrigal “Madonna Mia Gentil”.]

Shakespeare: Sonnet 153

Cupid laid by his brand and fell asleep,
A maid of Dian’s this advantage found,
And his love-kindling fire did quickly steep
In a cold valley-fountain of that ground:
Which borrowed from this holy fire of Love,
A dateless lively heat still to endure,
And grew a seething bath which yet men prove
Against strange maladies a sovereign cure:
But at my mistress’ eye Love’s brand new-fired,
The boy for trial needs would touch my breast,
I sick withal the help of bath desired,
And thither hied, a sad distempered guest.
But found no cure; the bath for my help lies,
Where Cupid got new fire; my mistress’ eyes.

3. Giovanni Bassano: *Diminuti per sonar* (1591) with “Madonna mia gentil”

Madonna mia gentil ringratio amore
che tolto m’habbia il core
dandolo a voi ch’avete non sol beltà ma sete
ornata di virtù talc he m’avviso,
stando in terra godere il paradiso.

⁷¹ James Hutton. “Analogues of Shakespeare’s Sonnets 153-54: Contributions to the History of a Theme,” *Modern Philology*, Vol. 38, No. 4, (1941), 385-403. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/434118> (accessed September 8, 2012).

English adaptation by Thomas Watson in London, 1590.

When from myself sweet Cupid first bereft me
in Phyllis' hands he left me,
where, in a sun of gladness
that sees no clouds of sadness,
mine eye beholds the beams, of beauty's treasure
adoring Love, for god of pleasure.

[The melody for Giovanni Bassano's piece comes from an original madrigal in Luca Marenzio's *Primo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci* (Venice 1580). The divisions by Bassano come from a collection called *Motetti, madrigalli, e canzoni francesi, di diversi eccellentissimi auttori a quattro, cinque e sei voci, Diminuiti per sonar con orni sorte di stromenti, e anco per sonar con la semplice voce* (edition Giacomo Vincenti, Venice 1591). Giovanni Bassano's diminutions and Marenzio's madrigal performed together create a duet that sounds very pleasant.]

4. Salamone Rossi (1570?–c 1630): Sinfonia a 3 (1607) with Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, Act III, Scene 1

Shylock

Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions; fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, heal'd by the same means, warm'd and cool'd by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh?

[Salomone Rossi Ebreo is one of the most famous Jewish musicians from Venice, and was a contemporary of Giovanni Bassano and the English Bassanos. This most famous speech by the character Shylock in the merchant of Venice portrays how badly Jews were treated in Venice at the time and might shed light on why the Bassano family chose to hide some of their Jewish ancestry while in England and elsewhere. During Shakespeare's trip to Venice with the Bassanos, Prior suggests that he visited the Jewish

ghettos there. The Bassano's original Jewish name was Piva (bagpipes) before they left for Venice around 1515. It is clear that they did not continue to practice Judaism when they left Italy. However, Shakespeare does identify the anti-semitism that was present in Venice at the time through Shylock's speech.]

5. Giovanni Bassano: Fantasia 4 with Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 5, Scene 1

Portia

The crow doth sing as sweetly as the lark,
When neither is attended, and I think
The nightingale, if she should sing by day,
When every goose is cackling, would be thought
No better a musician than the wren.
How many things by season season'd are
To their right praise and true perfection!
Peace, ho! The moon sleeps with Endymion
And would not be awaked.

[This passage is apt because wind instruments are often likened to various kinds of birds. Perhaps the dulcian sounds like the crow and recorder like the lark or nightingale? The character Portia also embodies many qualities of Emilia Bassano.]

6. Bartolomeo de Selma (b c1595; fl 1613–38): Fantasia basso solo 5 (1638) with Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 1 Scene 2 and Act IV scene I

Portia

If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches, and poor men's cottages princes' palaces.

We do pray for mercy, And that same prayer doth teach us all to render the deeds of mercy.

[This Fantasia was published in Venice (*Canzoni, fantasie et correnti da suonar*, Venice 1638/R) and shows the influence of the Bassanos on the Spanish style. Selma was

also a composer, instrument builder and bassoonist with a large musician family like the Bassanos. B. Kenyon de Pascual states that there are several Bassano instruments in Spain; furthermore, letters from the Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral and from the Burgos cathedral from 1567 show that the Cathedral ordered instruments from England.⁷² The Salamanca cathedral also has a set of four shawms that are still in existence which have the telltale “rabbits’ feet mark” associated with the Bassanos.⁷³ Once again I have included a “fantasy” because Shakespeare’s words hope for things that one can only hope for.]

7. Giovanni Antonio Bertoli: Sonata settima and Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 1, Scene 1

Antonio

In sooth, I know not why I am so sad:
It wearies me; you say it wearies you;
But how I caught it, found it, or came by it,
What stuff ‘tis made of, whereof it is born,
I am to learn;
And such a want-wit sadness makes of me,
That I have much ado to know myself.

[These lines from Antonio remind me of the lament figure of the descending tetrachord ground bass line that is featured in this sonata. The lament figure is also very important in Italian and English musical composition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Giovanni Antonio Bertoli was a famous Italian singer, dulcian, and cornetto

⁷² Beryl Kenyon de Pascual. “Bassano Instruments in Spain?” (*The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 40, December 1987,): 74-5.

⁷³ Ibid.

player and a contemporary of Shakespeare. His collection of dulcian sonatas was dedicated to the famous organist Francesco Turini.⁷⁴]

8. Giovanni Bassano: Fantasia 19 (1585) and Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*,

Act 4, Scene 1

Portia

The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath: it is twice blest;
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes:
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest:

[This fantasia has a very mighty and happy affect and is quite easy (or merciful!)

to play; hence, these words from Portia.]

9. G. A. S.: Sonata (1686) and Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, scene 1

Antonio

Say how I loved you, speak me fair in death;
And, when the tale is told, bid her be judge
Whether Bassanio had not once a love.

[This anonymous “Sonata solo Fagotto” is found in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena Italy, MSS. 316. It contains the initials G. A. S., and is written over another sonata that is not completely erased. The sonata’s plaintive quality perfectly matches the speech of Antonio.]

⁷⁴ Gabriele Bonomo, ‘Bertoli [Bertola], Giovanni Antonio.’ *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02925> (accessed September 8, 2012).

10. Giovanni Antonio Bertoli: Sonata Sesta and Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 1, Scene 1, and Act 4, Scene 1

Gratiano

Let me play the fool; with mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come.

Shylock

And others, when the bagpipe sings i' the nose,
Cannot contain their urine: for affection,
Mistress of passion, sways it to the mood
Of what it likes or loathes.

[This quotation is a direct reference to the Bassano family. Shakespeare was referring to “Piva,” the Bassanos’ old Jewish name, which means three things: bagpipe, big nose and penis.⁷⁵ This quotation refers to all three. This Sonata by Bertoli is best played on the dulcian with the organ as a continuo instrument. It has a variety of affects across the emotional spectrum. In the right hands, the dulcian has a similar sound to the bagpipe. The Bassano family was also noted for their building of dulcians.]

11. Dario Castello: Sonata ottava a due (violin, dulcian and continuo), libro primo (1621) and Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 5, Scene 1, Lorenzo

The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull as night
And his affections dark as Erebus:
Let no such man be trusted. Mark the music.

⁷⁵ Prior, *Ibid.*, 8.

[Castello was known as both a violinist and a dulcian player at St. Mark's and he carried on the playing tradition of Giovanni Bassano in the seventeenth century.⁷⁶ The triumphant close to the speech is mirrored in the triumphant end of this sonata. This speech by Lorenzo shows how moved Shakespeare was by music at this time in his life and also shows the influence of the Bassanos and is a fitting closing speech for this program.]

Painting List

Anon: *Early 17th Century gloves in silk and gold metal thread and seed pearls.* Fashion Museum, Bath, England.
http://www.museumofcostume.co.uk/exhibitions/current_displays/17th_century_gloves.aspx

Anon: *Pair of gloves, first half of 17th century English.* Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/28.210.1,.2>. Accessed September 15, 2013.

These two selections of gloves are due to Shakespeare's father as glove maker and Shakespeare's references to gloves in his plays. Please see the news article in the *The New York Observer*, "Glove Me Tender: Shakespeare in the Skin Trade". <http://observer.com/1998/07/glove-me-tender-shakespeare-in-the-skin-trade/> (accessed December 12, 2013). See also Garry O'Connor's book *William Shakespeare: A Popular Life*. Hal Leonard Corporation (2001): 56.

Blake, William and John Flaxman: *Night, Love, Erebus and Chaos.* (1816-1817). *Indianapolis Museum of Art.*

Erebus is alluded to in Lorenzo's speech from *Merchant of Venice* selected.

Bassano, Jacopo: *The Façade from the Casa dal Corno in Bassano* (1539), detached fresco, Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa. *Lazzaro alla mensa dell'Epulone* (c1533). Cleveland Museum of Art. *Annunzio ai pastori*, c1560, Grantham, Belvoir Castle, Collection of the Duke of Rutland.

⁷⁶ Eleanor Selfridge-Field, "Dario Castello: A Non-Existent Biography" *Music & Letters*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Apr., 1972): 179-190. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/733617> (Accessed October 17, 2012).

Bassano (da Ponte), Leandro: *Concert* (1592), Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi. *Kitchen Scene*, Indiana University Museum of Art. *Susanna and The Elders* (c1595). Hermitage Museum. *January* (c 1595-1600), *February* (c 1595-1600), *Picture of a Venitian Magistrate* (c.1580), *The Money Changer Orazio Iago, his wife and a Client* (c1600), *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan* (c1590/1595) Kunsthistorische Museum Vienna.

Shakespeare uses the character Iago in *Ottello* and Leandro Bassano is his contemporary. He might have met him during his trip to Italy.

Berini, Antonio (c. 1770–1830): *William Shakespeare (1564-1616)*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession Number: 40.20.32.

Carracci, Agostino or Anonymous: *Venus Chastising Cupid* from The Illustrated Bartsch. Vol. 39, pt. 1, commentary, Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century. Image ID: BARTSCH_3760029.

Dreshout the elder, Martin: *Portrait of William Shakespeare* (1623), British Museum, London.

This frontispiece to the First Folio edition of Shakespeare's works is one of the earliest portraits of the poet. Droeshout must have worked from a painting or drawing of Shakespeare as a young man, as he himself was only fifteen when Shakespeare died.

Franco, Giacomo: *A Ball and Dress of Dogaresa and Ladies* [from *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane*] (1609). Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Gottlieb, Maurycy: *Merchant of Venice*, last quarter 19th Century, in Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme

Haman, Francis: (1708-1776) and **Hubert François Bourguignon d'Anville Gravelot** (1699-1773) engraver, “36 illustrations of William Shakespeare”, *The Works of Shakespeare*. ed. Sir Thomas Hanmer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1744). PARIS., Bibliothèque nationale., Cabinet des Estampes.

Salodiensis, Joseph: (1559-1574): *Polygonal virginal* (Italian, 1574). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 1981.277 <http://www.mfa.org/>.

Shakespeare's sonnet of the Dark Lady refers to a virginal.

Veronese, Paolo: (b. Verona 1528, d. Venice 1588): *The Wedding Feast at Cana* (1562–1563), The Louvre Museum, Paris.

This painting portrays Giovanni Bassano.

Chapter 3

Dutch and Flemish Art and Music in the 17th Century

This chapter will explore three themes common to music and visual art in Dutch and Flemish society in the seventeenth century, which can be used to build dynamic concert programs. These themes are:

1. The Guilds, including painting, music and trade guilds;
2. The use of imitation and variations on shared themes (political, religious, fashion, *vanitas*, allegory and others) by composers and painters of the time.
This also might be described as genre painting. Finally,
3. Parallels between painter families and musical families (i.e., the Hals, Van Kessel, and Sweelinck families).

Within idea (2), I will address three important sub-themes: variation, allegory, and *vanitas*. As we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2, there are many connections between English and Italian art and culture; similar connections also exist between the Dutch and the Italians that can facilitate programming. The Dutch and Franco-Flemish composers such as Ghersem, Issac and others also had a strong compositional and performance influence in Spain and in the New World (see Chapter 4).

Museums often have substantial Dutch and Flemish collections. Many museums (and websites) have used these painters as a window into the music and art of the seventeenth century as a whole. One special case is the Museum of the City of New

York, which traces the city's history through interiors, art and artifacts from its time as a Dutch colony. Not only did the Dutch have tremendous influence in the seventeenth century as a result of their commercial power, but also it is worth bearing in mind that they were pioneers in the 20th century revival of performing early Western music on historical instruments. This more recent development can directly be traced to the wealth of iconography, use of the genre painting, and the demand for printed music that occurred during the so-called "Golden Age," an age that roughly corresponds to the seventeenth century.

1. Guilds

Any discussion of art and music in the Low Countries must be prefaced by some mention of the guild system and how it was started and represented. The patron saint of musicians is traditionally Saint Cecilia and she is sometimes portrayed as the patron saint of music guilds.⁷⁷ Saint Cecilia is the topic of many Dutch paintings in important museums such as the Huntington Art Collection and the Washington National Gallery of Art. Artist guilds began to appear in the Netherlands in the thirteenth century and were still prosperous during the seventeenth century. The painting guild in Holland was named after the patron saint of artists, St. Luke,⁷⁸ who was a painter and an evangelist in the New Testament. St. Luke was one of the authors of the four Gospels in the New

⁷⁷ Thomas Bauman. "Musicians in the Marketplace: The Venetian Guild of Instrumentalists in the Later 18th Century." *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1991), 347. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3127774> (accessed September 13, 2012). See also depictions of St. Cecilia playing music in paintings of the period, such as *St. Cecilia and the Angel* by Orazio Gentileschi and Giovanni Lanfranco.

⁷⁸ John Michael Montias. "The Guild of St. Luke in 17th-Century Delft and the Economic Status of Artists and Artisans." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*. Vol. 9, No. 2 (1977): 93, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3780327> (accessed September 13, 2012). See also depictions of St. Luke painting such as: Jan Gossaert's *St. Luke Painting the Madonna* or the painting *The governors of the guild of St. Luke, Haarlem*, by Jan de Bray in 1675.

Testament (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John). The four evangelists were often represented in art by symbolic figures: the angel, lion, bull and eagle, respectively.

Without membership in the guild, an artist was not permitted to paint professionally. An extensive training system was developed for painters, and only a fully qualified master could become a member of a guild. Members had to adhere to standards of quality and price. In return, they could claim certain social benefits. Guild musicians were also hired by cities for special occasions. An example of a commission that was executed through the guild system is Antoon Sallaert's (c. 1580–1650) colorful depiction of the entrances and exits of Dutch royalty (Fig. 1).

Figure 1, *Archduchess Isabelle and Archduke Albert at the procession of the maids of the Sablon.*⁷⁹



Sallaert was a Flemish painter, draftsman and printmaker. He became a master painter in Brussels in 1613 and completed numerous commissions of a religious nature

⁷⁹ Hans Mons, *Dulcian Iconography*. <http://www.dulcians.org/iconography.htm#sallaert> (accessed September 15, 2013).

for the Archduke Albert's court, the new Jesuit church, and the town hall. He also made paintings for churches in the villages around Brussels, notably the cycle of twelve canvases depicting the History of the Church at Alseberg.

2.1. Variation and Imitation

Cycles in music can be expressed by the cyclical repetition of head-motives in a Mass, or the use of a single key area to unify a multi-movement instrumental work such as a suite of dances. Variations, on the other hand tend more towards a progressive nature, though they are typically unified through a common relationship to a theme. A very well-known collection of seventeenth-century Dutch variations for winds is by the composer and flutist Jacob van Eyck. His work, *Der Fluyten Lusthof*, would have been recognized as an example of divisions at the time (in Dutch, *breecken*). Jacob van Eyck is not to be confused with the painter Jan van Eyck (who painted the famous *Annunciation*, among others). Jacob van Eyck (1589/90?–1657) was known as a carillonneur, bell expert, recorder player and composer. Although he was blind, he discovered the connection between a bell's shape and its tone, which enabled the large bells to be tuned properly. Van Eyck earned part of his salary by playing his recorder outdoors with the carillon while people strolled by in the churchyard.

Van Eyck's multiple volume work, *Der Fluyten Lust-hof* contains almost 150 pieces for solo soprano recorder in C as well as a few duets. The original prints from 1644 contain many errors, mainly due to van Eyck's blindness. Nevertheless, the work was so popular that it was reprinted several times. A few of the pieces are free compositions that were often used by contemporaries like preludes and fantasias, but the majority are taken from popular songs. The international sources of his melodies show

the interdependence of many ideas in visual arts and music. His allusions to the repertoire of Dowland, Caccini and church music are in evidence throughout.⁸⁰ And, the classical themes of his music are depicted in paintings such as the character Daphne. Much about the history of the time and the international tendencies of music can also be gleaned from this collection of pieces, which reflect the wars and fashions of the Dutch in the seventeenth century.⁸¹

Jacob Van Eyck was known to very prominent intellectuals such as Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637), René Descartes and Constantijn Huygens (who was Jacob’s distant relative.) In fact van Eyck dedicated *Der Fluyten Lust-hof* to Huygens, who achieved fame by discovering the rings of Saturn through his telescope in the 1650s.⁸² An astonishing number of pieces in van Eyck’s collection can be connected to a literary narrative; many also have representations in the visual arts which I document in this chapter’s appendix. To demonstrate some of the many options that exist for music to other forms of art, I have chosen three songs as examples.

One of the duets in the collection, *More Palatino*, meaning “in the Palatine manner,” originated as a bawdy drinking song. But, the words to the song make a number of literary and historical references. The first line loosely translates to “Let’s drink in a Palatine manner.” This is a reference to the Imperial Roman court, since the Palatine Hill in Rome was the site of palaces and for emperors from Augustus onward. But not only was the Palatine a place for emperors to rule from; it was also the location of verdant

⁸⁰ Thiemo Wind. "Eyck, Jacob van." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09151> (accessed September 16, 2012).

⁸¹ Ruth van Baak Griffioen. *Jacob van Eyck's Der fluyten lust-hof: (1644–c. 1655)* (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991). This book has many lists of songs on which the variations are based, their source, texts, and translation, and concordances.

⁸² *Ibid*, 59.

gardens. Roman families started planting pleasure gardens and pavilions in the Palatine in the sixteenth century. Europe's botanical gardens trace their lineage to these early experiments. Finally, there is also a religious and political link. The Palatinate Region remained Roman Catholic during the early Reformation but adopted Calvinism in the 1560s under Elector Frederick III; the region also supported Calvinism in Germany. The 30 Years' War devastated the Palatines in the mid 1600s and many Calvinists fled to America.⁸³

A second well-known song from van Eyck's collection is *Phyllis schoon Herderinne* ("Phyllis, beautiful shepherdess"). Phyllis is a mythological character who awaits her husband Demophoon's return from the Trojan War. The variations could symbolize the many times Phyllis returned to the shore to await Demophoon, or the circular loop of memory and lament that accompanies the loss of a loved one.

A third tune, *Prince Robberts Masco (Prince Ruppert)*, had its origins as music for a masque. A masque was a festival or entertainment in which guests wore costumes or disguises and offered gifts to their host. A formal dance could form the high point of the night's entertainments. These masques were very popular throughout Europe and especially in England. "Prince Robbert" is actually Prince Rupert, or Rupert of the Palatinate. Although this provides a strong connection to the song *More Palatino*, the intra- and inter-opus connections do not stop there.

Rupert's life contained many colorful events and adventures which can be found expressed in innumerable Dutch paintings of naval battle, seascape and adventure. In 1620, two years after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, Rupert's family was driven

⁸³ Most of Pennsylvania's early German settlers (nowdays called the Pennsylvania Dutch) trace their lineage to the Palatinate diaspora.

from Bohemia to the Dutch Republic, where he grew up. He became a favorite of his uncle, King Charles I, when he visited the English court in 1636. Rupert fought against the imperial forces in the Thirty Years' War in 1638. He was also a talented Royalist commander of the English Civil War (1642–51). Rupert took charge of the small Royalist fleet in 1648 and began to prey on English shipping in the Mediterranean Sea, the Azores and the West Indies.

During the years before his death, Rupert dabbled in scientific experiments and introduced the art of mezzotint printmaking into England. Dutch exploration by people such as Rupert helped influence the Asian dress and Italian-style instruments depicted in Johannes Vermeer's (1632–1675) painting at the Washington National Gallery, *Girl with a Flute*.⁸⁴ A similar painting by Jan van Bijlert (1598–1671) *Girl with a Flute*, c. 1630, at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, shows a more European or Italian style of dress and a closer image of the recorder of the time.⁸⁵

2.2. Allegory

Allegorical themes are very prominent in painting of Dutch-speaking countries. Two examples are Jan Brueghel the Elder's *Allegory of Hearing*⁸⁶ and Jan Van Kessel's painting of the same name (see Figure 2).⁸⁷ Van Kessel was from Antwerp, a city which shared many artistic styles with the Netherlands thanks to their shared language and geographical proximity to each other.

⁸⁴ http://www.essentialvermeer.com/catalogue/girl_with_a_flute.html accessed September 16, 2012. This website goes into more detail about each object in this painting and has invaluable research.

⁸⁵ See image at <http://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/OO3.1967/> accessed September 16, 2012.

⁸⁶ Image can be found at http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/b/bruegel/jan_e/2/5sense1.html accessed September 16, 2012.

⁸⁷ http://www.essentialvermeer.com/folk_music/dulcian_a.html accessed September 16, 2012. Van Kessel's image is found on this page among other contemporary allegories.

Figure 2, *Allegory of Hearing*, Jan Van Kessel.



It is clear from the position of the woman and how the instruments are collected that Van Kessel based his painting on Brueghel the Elder's allegory. But, the allegory also serves as a reminder of how acute the auditory and musical sense is in many animal species. In order to succeed at playing the various families of seventeenth-century instruments, human musicians must also of course possess something akin to the hearing and musical calls of animals. For instance, the parrot on the chair could repeat any musical phrase called out to him.

Another idea for the allegory of Van Kessel's painting is that in the early modern period, "hearing" was associated with sensuality, whereas "seeing" was associated with the intellect. This idea also connects with the idea of Venus and Chapter One. During this time period, many artists were also interested in connecting with the classical ideas of the Aristotelian five senses (sight, hearing, touch, smell, taste) that often appeared in

the allegorical disguise. The artists would play with the idea of “looking with the ears and hearing with the eyes.”⁸⁸

Jan van Kessel came from a family that was deeply enmeshed in the Dutch guild system of art production. He was the son of Hieronymus van Kessel the Younger (1578–c. 1636), a successful portrait and figure painter. Kessel’s mother was Paschasia Brueghel, daughter of Jan Brueghel the Elder. Van Kessel was instructed by his uncle Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601–1678) to make copies of his paintings in 1646. He had thirteen children, two of whom became painters: Ferdinand (1648–1696), who continued to paint in his father’s style, and Jan the Younger or Jan van Kessel the II (1654–1708), who became a portrait painter for King Charles II in Spain. Van Kessel also painted a number of allegorical subjects, including representations of the Five Senses, the Four Elements, and the Four Continents.⁸⁹ Jan Van Kessel’s paintings at the Washington National Gallery of Art include *Vanitas Still Life* (c. 1665) and *Concert of Birds* (1660), which continue the themes of the *Allegory of Hearing*.

2.3. Vanitas

A third important theme in Dutch painting is called *vanitas*. *Vanitas vanitatus omnia vanitas* (“Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity,” here quoted from the Latin Vulgate) is a verse from the Hebrew Bible (Ecclesiastes 1:2). In the sense here, *vanitas* suggests the futility that all face in the certain knowledge of one’s own inevitable demise. The pictorial genre of the *vanitas* was extremely common in seventeenth-century

⁸⁸Mark Robson, "Looking with ears, hearing with eyes: Shakespeare and the ear of the early modern." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 7.1/Special Issue 8 (May, 2001): 10.1-23. <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/07-1/robsears.htm> (accessed December 13, 2013).

⁸⁹“Kessel, Jan van”. *Washington National Gallery of Art*. <http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/artist-info.5484.html?artistId=5484&pageNumber=1> (accessed August 6, 2006). Also see, W. Laureyssens. "Kessel, van." *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T046333pg2> (accessed September 16, 2013).

Holland, and works by Pieter Claesz (1597–1660) and Abraham Minjon (1640–1679) can be seen hanging in innumerable art galleries throughout the United States. Space permits only a brief analysis of a typical *vanitas* by Pieter van Roestraten (Haarlem, 1629/30–London 1700).⁹⁰ In Roestraten’s painting, a violin, a candlestick, books, playing cards, an hourglass, a music book, a watch, a skull and a recorder lie on a table draped with an orange cloth. The objects in Roestraten’s painting had obvious symbolic significance to anyone who was even minimally versed in the semiotic codes of the day. The skull, of course, is the most self-evident symbol of death. The hourglass, watch and candle all remind us of the irreversible passing of time and the inevitable onset of darkness. The other objects have moral connotations. Whereas playing cards could suggest questionable morals or idle recreation, the musical instruments and scores can be understood either as a worthy pastime, or – should one prefer a darker interpretation – a convenient way to enter into licentious society. The moral dimension of this symbolic language is useful for gaining insight to Dutch society and the reflexive nature of the depictions of musical apparatus has obvious and immediate advantages in concert programming by the use of bawdy songs or religious works.

Roestraten’s own career offers an interesting commentary on the relationship of artists to their patrons. Though he was a Dutch painter, he eventually worked in England. Roestraten trained as a portrait painter, but when he was offered an introduction to Charles II on the condition that he cease painting portraits, Van Roestraten agreed. The only portraits he painted afterwards were of himself.⁹¹

⁹⁰ “Roestraten, Pieter van.” *Oxford Art Online*. ed. Amber Fischer.
<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T072677> (accessed October 18, 2012).

⁹¹ “Roestraten, Pieter van.” *Oxford Art Online*. ed. Amber Fischer.
<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T072677> (accessed October 18, 2012).

3. Painter Families

One famous musical setting of *vanitas* is by Sweelinck. The text “Vanity of vanities and all is vanity” is set as a canon.⁹² Sweelinck was also part of a large musical family like the Bach family in Germany, and the Bassano and Ferrabosco families both in Venice then later in England, among others. Sweelinck succeeded his father as organist of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, and his son Dirck succeeded him in turn, so the family held that post almost uninterruptedly from about 1564 to 1652. Sweelinck’s paternal grandfather and uncle were also organists.

The Hals family of painters also represents the *vanitas* theme frequently. This especially comes through in their pictures of garden parties and pastoral concerts. Dirk Hals’ *Fete Champetre* contains a monkey (a common symbol for vanity), flute, and lute in a garden. The idea of “music as vanity” and “hearing as sensual” (as discussed with Van Kessel’s painting) also manifests in Dirk Hals’ painting. There is a juxtaposition between courtly (learned) and natural (landscape) that suggests a bourgeois commentary on the “vanity” of noble pursuits. Jacob van Eyck’s collection, called the “The Flute’s Garden of Delights,” is another example of a garden of delights in a more typical horticultural setting. The painter Watteau continues the symbolic garden setting into the high baroque period, to be discussed in the final chapter.

Painting List

⁹² An interesting recording on this topic is Tragicomedia. *Vanitas Vanitatum: Rome 1650*. Teldec, 98410, CD, 1995. This recording, however, does not include any Dutch or Franco-Flemish composers and does not include the canon by Sweelinck. But, it shows how the Vanitas theme in Italy and many Dutch and Flemish composers were employed there, especially earlier in the century.

Brueghel the Elder, Jan. *Allegory of Hearing*, 1618, Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain.

This painting depicts the idea of hearing as sensual and the ideas of the senses and how they manifest in nature and in civilization.

Collier, Evert. *Vanitas Vanitatum*, 1684, Private collection, Recklinghausen.

This painting has an open music book headed “Tannkeken Jacob van Eyck” and is discussed by both Fischer and Baak Griffioen in their books.⁹³

Gentileschi, Orazio, 1563–1639 and **Giovanni Lanfranco** 1582–1647.

Saint Cecilia and an Angel, c. 1617/1618 and c. 1621/1627, Washington National Gallery of Art.

Gossaert, Jan. *St. Lucas Painting Madonna*, c. 1520. Oil on panel. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria.

Gossaert portrays St. Luke and the concept of how the guild of St. Luke began.

Hals, Dirk. *Merry Company*, 1627. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem. *Garden Feast*, 1627, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Hals, Harmen. *The Bassoon Player*, c1660, Aachen, Suermondt Museum.

Molenaer, Jan. *Allegory of Marital Fidelity*, 1633, Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.

Sallaert, Antoon, c. 1580/90–1650. *Archduchess Isabelle and Archduke Albert at the procession of the maids of the Sablon*, 1615, Galleria Sabauda, Turin, Italy.

Steen, Jan. *A Peasant Wedding*, 1672, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Van Baburen, Dirck. *The Procuress*, c1611-1622, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Van Kessel, Jan., 1626–1679. *Allegory of Hearing*, Washington National Gallery of Art.

Vermeer, Johannes, 1632–1675. *Girl with a flute*. Washington National Gallery of Art.

Girl with a flute illustrates the concepts of travel (her Chinese costume), beauty, and music.

Musical Selections

⁹³ Ruth van Baak Griffioen. *Jacob van Eyck's Der fluyten lust-hof: (1644–c. 1655)* (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991): 232-235.

Helmbreecker, Cornelis sr Janszoon, Cornelis Thymans Padbrué, Joan Albert Ban, and J.W.N. Valkestijn. Spaerens vreuchden-bron: Haarlem, muziekstad in de gouden eeuw : vocale muziek uit zeventiende eeuws Haarlem. Houten: Ascolta, 2008.

Me veux-tu voir mourir (1640) by Joan Albert Ban is a good piece from this collection for the vanitas theme.

Ban, Jan Albert. *Zangh-Bloemzel ... Dat is, Staeltjes van den zinroerenden Zangh: met dry stemmen, en den Gemeene-Grondstem. Neffens een kort Zangh-bericht, etc. Grondstem.* t'Amsterdam: By Paulus Matthijsz. Voor Louys Elzevier, 1642.

Ban, Jan Albert, and Jan Albert Ban. *Zangh-Bloemzel (theoretical part) & Kort Sangh-Bericht.* Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1969.

Carissimi, Giacomo, [*opere Complete Di Giacomo Carissimi*]. Roma: Istituto italiano per la storia della musica, 1951.

The musical work that best represents the Vanitas painting styles in this chapter is his motet *Vanitas Vanitatum* (1650). The tremendous trade between the Dutch and Italians is another reason to include this piece. Another edition of the motet, which contains just this motet is:

Carissimi, Giacomo, Lino Bianchi, and Giacomo Carissimi. *Vanitas Vanitatum I ; Vanitas Vanitatum II.* Rome: Istituto italiano per la storia della musica, 1973.

Fesch, Willem de, [*collected Edition of the Compositions of Willem De Fesch (1687-1761)*]. Edited by Robert L Tusler. Amsterdam: Donemus, 1995.

Of special note in this collection are the *10 Trio Sonatas, Op. 7* and *8 Concertos in 7 parts, Op. 10*, as well as his *Six duets for two violoncellos, Op. 1B*. In addition, a good list of music during Vermeer's time (as well as a complete catalogue of Vermeer's paintings) can be found at this very comprehensive and well researched website:
<http://www.essentialvermeer.com/music/musicfiles.html>

Hacquart, Carolus, *Harmonia Parnassia Sonatarum: Opus 2 (1686), for Three and Four Instruments.* Edited by Pieter Andriessen. Albany, CA: PRB Productions, 2004.

Hacquart, Carolus, and Dirck Buysero. *De Triomfeerende Min: Vredespel : Gemengt Met Zang En Snaarenspeel, Vliegwerken, En Baletten, 1680 = Love Triumphant : a Play of Peace : Incorporating Songs and Music for Strings, Flyers and Ballets, 1680.* Edited by Pieter Andriessen and Tom Strengers. Peer, Belgium: Alamire, 1996.

Moergastel, Pieter van, Jan Pasveer, Jos Vranken, Paul Willem van Reijen, and Stephen Taylor. *Vox Neerlandica: vijf eeuwen gemengd koor, a cappella = five centuries of mixed choir, a cappella.* Loosdrecht, Holland: Harmonia, 1995.

The music by Sweelinck and Cornelis Schuyt (a Dutch madrigalist) and Hubert Waelrant (Flemish composer and theorist c1517-1595) are particularly appropriate pieces in this anthology.

Schenck, Johann, and Olaf Tetampel. *Il Giardino Armonico: Sonaten Für Zwei Violinen, Viola Da Gamba Und Basso Continuo, Op. 3, 1692.* Bremen: Edition Baroque, 2012.

The title *Il Giardino Armonico*, translated as the harmonious garden, alludes to many of the paintings in this chapter, especially those on the theme of the allegory of hearing. There are twelve sonatas in his op. 3 collection.

Schenck, Johann, *Scherzi Musicali, Suite I and II : Für Viola Da Gamba & Basso Continuo.* Ed. Leonore And Günter Von Zadow. Heidelberg: Edition Guentersberg, 2008.

These musical games from Schenck's op. 6 publication are said to be his most famous works.

Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon, *Werken Van Jan Pieterszn. Sweelinck.* [Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg International Publishers, 1968.

Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon, *Sämtliche Werke Für Tasteninstrumente =: Complete Keyboard Works.* Edited by Harald Vogel and Pieter Dirksen. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2005.

Musical pieces from these two anthologies that are particularly important are: *Vanitas Vanitatum*, a canon in 4 voices (1608), *Engelsche Fortuyn*, variations on a theme by William Byrd (1543–1623), SWwv 320. *Echo Fantasia No. 1 and 2 in C major* SWwv 253, 255 and *Est ce Mars variations for keyboard* SWwv 321

Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon, and Doreen Rao. *Vanitas, vanitatum = Vanity, vanity, all is vanity.* United States: Boosey & Hawkes, 1988.

Van Eyck, Jan, *Der Fluyten Lust-Hof.* Edited by Winfried Michel and Hermien Teske. Erste vollständig kommentierte Gesamtausgabe = First complete edition with full commentary. Winterthur, Schweiz: Amadeus, 1984.

Der fluyten lust-hof (The Flute's Garden of Delights, 1649) has many descriptive pieces with variations that work well with paintings. *More Palatino* theme was a drinking song in Latin popular at the time. Many composers chose to set variations to this particular song. *When Daphne did from Phoebus fly* (originally English, Dutch: *Doen Daphne d'*

over schoone Maeghd) was also well known in numerous sets of variations. In Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-Clanck* (1626) it appears with a slightly changed melody and a totally different text telling of the cruelties of the Eighty Years' War in Holland. *Orainge* This piece is a song about the Prince of Orange who continued the war against Spain and the fight for the independence of the Dutch Republic. *Phyllis schoon Herderinne* ("Phyllis, beautiful shepherdess"). Phyllis is a mythological character who awaits her husband Demophoon's return from the Trojan War. The variations could symbolize the many times Phyllis returned to the shore to await Demophoon. *Prince Robberts Masco (Prince Ruppert)* was used for a masque, and Robberts was from the Palatine. *Onan, or Tanneken* has a Vanitas painting that depicts it in an open music book, described in the paintings list earlier, which cites van Eyck's name. The original words that go to the song describe a beautiful mistress and all of her attributes.

Chapter 4

Exploration and The New World:

Music and Imagery from an Aztec Missionary Play *Final Judgment*

Art, theater, and music in early modern Central and South America were heavily influenced by the Christian religion. In fact, religious subjects constitute a large percentage of most Western art museums and an even larger percentage of what is considered early music. Religious drama during the late 16th and early 17th centuries in Latin America greatly influenced iconography and painting among the Aztecs in colonial Mexico and Guatemala. A way for artistic directors to help build a program using religious themes is to model them after these early Christian religious dramas that were introduced to natives by the Spanish empire.

One example of an Aztec religious drama that could be used in a program is translated as *Final Judgment*. It is held in the Library of Congress and is written in Nahuatl (which is the word for the Aztec language and Nahuatl is another term to describe Aztec people). This play contains many musical references in the stage directions; and, manuscripts of Guatemalan music from the late 16th and early 17th centuries that are now held at Indiana University's Lilly Library provide ideas and a possible partial musical solution for the musical references in *Final Judgment* as well as other liturgical plays during the time (see the musical selections list at the end of the chapter).

Interesting exhibits devoted to the early Americas (especially South America) have been a focus in major art museums and exhibits in the last ten years. One that addresses themes set out in this paper was presented in Texas at The Blanton Museum of

Art⁹⁴. This exhibit was called *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection*. Another, which is an ongoing online exhibit called “Exploring the Early Americas,” can be found on the Library of Congress website,⁹⁵ which also contains links to thousands of paintings, maps and other documents and artifacts. Many museums contain early Central and Latin American collections and almost all major museums contain religious works of art.

The theme "Final Judgment" as depicted in the Nahua play is a subject widely used by extremely famous European artists, including Michelangelo, Giotto, and Bosch and others. The philosophy of the play was a powerful tool in conversion of natives and links with the concept of preparing for heaven so that one can avoid punishment and hell. It is a central idea for the Catholic Church. One especially musical image of the final judgment, found in Oaxaca, Mexico, is a painting *Judicio Final* by the Spanish and Central American painter Andrés de Concha (see Figure 1).

Andrés de la Concha personifies a typical colonial artist from this period. Born in Spain, he worked in Mexico from 1568 as a painter and architect for major churches in the area. He was made Maestro Mayor of the Hospital de Jesús de México, Federal District and Andrés de la Concha was commissioned in 1599 to paint the catafalque erected to mark the death of Philip II (who I discussed in chapter one) and in 1603 he worked on the triumphal arch built for the reception in Mexico City of the Viceroy and he

⁹⁴*Blanton Museum of Art.*

http://blantonmuseum.org/exhibitions/details/the_virgin_saints_and_angels_south_american_paintings_16001825_from_th/ (Accessed January 4, 2013).

⁹⁵*Library of Congress.* <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/earlyamericas/online/index.html> (accessed August 6, 2012).

also is thought to have been the St Cecilia Master and may have been responsible for many paintings of *St Cecilia* in Mexico.⁹⁶

The conquest and conversion of the Nahuas by the Spanish was sometimes brutal.⁹⁷ This is why literature, art and music from this time and place are sometimes ignored. However, by looking back at this time period we can better understand how far (or not, as the case may be) some nations have come as civilizations and distance from the time period provides some objectivity. By telling both sides of the story we can bring to light some of these atrocities and victories.

The Spaniards used art and religion as tools to convert and control native people. While natives were not allowed to possess translations of sermons given in church, an exception was made for these dramas to be performed in Nahuatl which provided some of the first positive collaborations between Spaniards and Nahuas which is described in the excerpt from an article by Jonathan Truit.

Nahua religion during the pre-contact period possessed a certain amount of theatricality, such as the costumes used in ritualized combat. Noting this and the Nahuas' love of music, the Franciscans incorporated music and theater into the religious curriculum of their schools. They hoped that their use as pedagogical tools would encourage wider acceptance of Christianity. The Nahuas adopted both traditions and integrated them into their culture and society. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Nahuas added singing and musical instruments to their plays, festivities, and religious ceremonies. Moreover, they fully engaged in the performance, writing, and editing of dramas in Nahua, some sponsored by friars and others undertaken wholly by themselves.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Maria Concepción García Sáiz. "Concha, Andrés de la." *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online.* Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T018971> (accessed December 13, 2013).

⁹⁷ Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, and J. M Cohen. *The Conquest of New Spain.* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963). Bernal Diaz (1496-1584) wrote a contemporary account of Cortes' conquest.

⁹⁸ Jonathan Truit, "ADOPTED PEDAGOGIES: Nahua Incorporation of European Music and Theater in Colonial Mexico City" *The Americas.* Vol. 66, Iss. 3 (Jan 2010.): 311

Figure 1, *Judicio final*⁹⁹



⁹⁹Andrés de Concha. *Judicio final*, 1575. Iglesia de Santo Domingo, Yanhuitlán, Oaxaca. Photo: José Ignacio González Manterola-Pablo Osegnera. Andrés de Concha was originally from Seville and later lived and worked in Central America. The National Museum in Mexico City also has a beautiful painting by him of Saint Cecilia.

As mentioned earlier, stage directions in the manuscript of *Final Judgment* also refer to music in many sections of this short play and shed light on how Nahuas added musical instruments to their plays. In fact, the first stage directions read: “Exemplary model called Final Judgment, wind instruments are played and “Heaven” opens. Then, Saint Michael descends.”¹⁰⁰

This play is less than ten pages, single-spaced, and is contained in a collection of three plays which are each in a different hand and bound with an animal leather cover (see Figs. 2–5). It was translated by Louis M. Burkhart and Barry Sell¹⁰¹ and contains twenty characters in order of appearance:

Saint Michael
Penance
Time
Holy Church
Sweeping
Death
Priest
Lucía
Antichrist
First Living Person
Christ
First Angel
Second Angel
First Dead Person
Second Dead Person
Second Living Person (aka Lucía)
Third Living Person
Second Demon
Satan
First Demon

¹⁰⁰ Louise Burkhart, and Barry D. Sell. *Nahuatl Theater, Volume 1, Death and Life in Colonial Nahua Mexico*. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 2004): 191

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Figure 2, the cover of the various liturgical dramas in Nahuatl at the Library of Congress¹⁰²



The play begins after St. Michael describes what God's final judgment is to the audience. It segues into a short unnamed prologue, similar to Monteverdi operas, which includes the characters Penance, Time, Holy Church, Death, and Sweeping. The Nahuatl word for "sweeping" is "tlachpanaliztli."¹⁰³ In Aztec mythology, "Tlazolteotl" is a goddess who has a dual role of purification and adultery. This goddess may be the model for the character of Sweeping in the prologue.

The character of Lucía is also important. Evidence of Lucía can also be found Santa Lucía Cotzumalguapa. The area includes the pre-Columbian archaeological sites of El Baúl and Bilbao. Located in the Southwest area of Guatemala. The enigmatic Pipil culture that flourished here from about AD 500 to 700 (or city of Cotzumalguapa flourished from 650 – 950 AD).

The local people from this area descend from the Pipil, an ancient culture that had linguistic and cultural links with the Nahuatl-speaking peoples. The Pipil who lived here

¹⁰² Photo by Anna Marsh, Library of Congress Manuscript Room.

¹⁰³ Sell and Burkhardt, *Ibid*, 192.

grew the plant cacao or coco, which was the money of the age. They were obsessed with the rites and mysteries of death. Pipil art, unlike the flowery and romantic style of the Maya, is cold and severe, although finely done. When these 'Mexicans' settled in this pocket of Guatemala, and where they came from, is not known, though connections with Mexico's Gulf coast area, have been suggested.¹⁰⁴ Presently, El Baul is still an active pagan site in which Pipil descendants and also Maya go to light candles, fire and copal – pine-incense, to also pray, give offerings of liquor, and even sacrifice chickens.¹⁰⁵ Also, the word “Lucia” could also be interpreted as coming from “Lucifer” in European languages which also provides another layer of meaning to the play.

Figure 3, The first few lines of *Final Judgment* from the manuscript¹⁰⁶



¹⁰⁴ Lonely Planet Travel Guides. <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/guatemala/the-pacific-slope/santa-lucia-cotzumalguapa> (accessed November 19, 2013).

¹⁰⁵ Michael Robert Powell. <http://www.thecandytrail.com/santa-lucia-cotzumalguapa-guatemala/> (accessed November 19, 2013).

¹⁰⁶ Photo by Anna Marsh, Ibid.

Figure 4 from the play *How to Live on Earth*¹⁰⁷

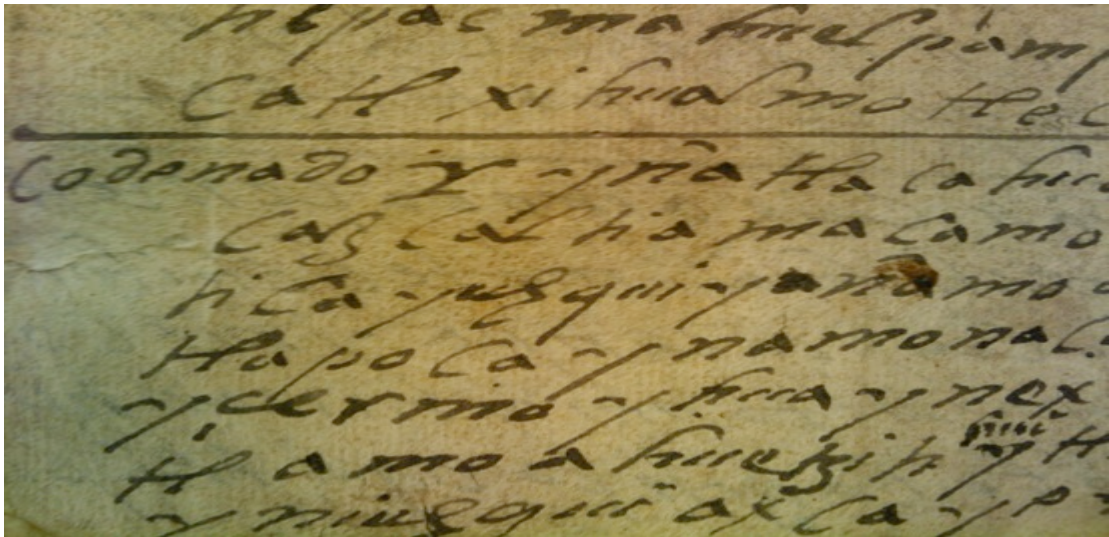


Figure 5, an inscription from one of the scribes in a hand different from the others.



The Archangel St. Michael or Miguel was an important figure in Spanish Christianity, Judaism and Islam, and he is described in the Bible as having commanded an army of

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

angels against Satan, whom he defeated in heaven.¹⁰⁸ In fact, he was a character in many religious plays, including one called “Souls and Testamentary Executors,” which is included in the collection translated by Sell and Burkhart. He is also widely depicted in visual art as defeating the dragon or serpent (See Figs. 6, 7 and 8). It is interesting to note that in these images, St. Michael is dressed in modified Spanish military attire. Both Figures 6 and 7 also focus on his adorned bare feet. Figure 8 is a very early image of St. Michael. There is generally widespread use of iconography of St. Michael due partially to his famous story and his military associations. For instance, examples of churches dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel in the “new world” include an early 18th-century church in La Antigua, Guatemala, as was also a Spanish mission in California.¹⁰⁹ There are also multiple churches dedicated to St. Michael across the world, especially in Russia.

¹⁰⁸ Holweck, F. (1911). St. Michael the Archangel. In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved January 14, 2013 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10275b.htm>

¹⁰⁹ *GCatholic*. <http://www.gcatholic.org/churches/centralamerica/3210.htm> (accessed July 8, 2012).

Figure 6, *San Miguel Arcángel* (Oaxaca, Mexico)¹¹⁰



¹¹⁰ Andrés de Concha (Artist). (1581). *San Miguel Arcángel* [Painting]. Oaxaca, Oaxaca; Catedral. Photo courtesy of Gerardo Suter-Lourdes Almeida.

Figure 7, *Saint Michael Archangel* (Cuzco, Peru)¹¹¹



¹¹¹ Unidentified Workshop Peru, Cuzco. *Saint Michael Archangel*, Late 17th - Early 18th century. Collection of Marilyn and Carl Thoma. http://blantonmuseum.org/exhibitions/details/the_virgin_saints_and_angels_south_american_paintings_16001825_from_th/ (Accessed January 4, 2013).

Figure 8, *St. Michael Vanquishing the Devil* (Spain)¹¹²



¹¹²Gonzalo Pérez. *St. Michael Vanquishing the Devil*, Early 15th Century. National Gallery of Scotland. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saint_Michael_Vanquishing_the_Devil.jpg (Accessed January 3, 2013).

Figure 9, *San Miguel* (Quito, Ecuador)¹¹³



The story continues as a morality play in which Christ decides the fates of three people and is portrayed as an unsympathetic judge. The main character, the only living person with a name, Lucía, is condemned to hell for not marrying. As she is sent to hell,

¹¹³ Photo by Anna Marsh of San Miguel statue by anon, now in Museo de la Ciudad, Quito, Ecuador. The museum descriptive plate says that Miguel is also the protector of Earthquakes and his festival is celebrated in September.

she is depicted with fire butterflies hanging from her ears with serpents as a necklace.

Both images were often used in traditional Aztec art. The Priest concludes the play with a short speech that advises the audience to treat Lucía's story as a mirror for themselves.

This frightening tale includes special effects--there are many explosions--as well as musical selections, both named and un-named as cues in the text. Both St. Michael and demons play wind instruments in many sections. The named pieces are an antiphon, *Christus factus est pro nobis obediens* (Christ became for us obedient); a hymn, *Te deum laudamus* (We praise you as God); and an *Ave Maria*. These songs and special effects were inserted for both entertainment and education and Truitt remarks in his article how fear was instilled in the natives by their own civilization:

Both Motolinía and Fray Bernardino de Sahagún state that musical mistakes were not tolerated at religious ceremonies, the offending party's punishment apparently being execution. Sahagún also mentioned that boys trained for the precontact indigenous priesthood received musical training as part of their education¹¹⁴

The Nahua were also famous for other execution and sacrifice in their ceremonies and were also quite brutal to neighboring civilizations. In 1558, the famous educator Fray Sahagún was presented with twenty sacred hymns by Aztecs that represent deeds of rulers and ask for food and luck in battle. The songs were memorized and sung in school by children from ages 12–15 at the House of Song (*cuicacalli*), which was part of every Aztec temple. The hymns were sung during every ceremony one hour before sunset,¹¹⁵ very much like the Christian tradition of Vespers.

¹¹⁴ Jonathan Truitt, "ADOPTED PEDAGOGIES: Nahua Incorporation of European Music and Theater in Colonial Mexico City." *The Americas*. Berkeley, Jan 2010. Vol. 66, Iss. 3, 4.

¹¹⁵ Manuel Aguilar-Moreno, *The Handbook to Life In The Aztec World*. New York, NY: Facts on File, 2006, 374-375.

The Nahuas also had their own songs of battle called *Cantares Mexicanos* (1520–1560)¹¹⁶ that fit into the theme of St. Michael and battle. These songs were also known as “ghost songs” and helped the living deal with “their dead ancestors in the garden of paradise and emboldened warriors for battle”¹¹⁷ and were performed with drums and costumes. The themes of these songs are very close to the topic of the play.

The theme of the Final Judgment has also translated into one of the most famous celebrations in Mexican culture, the Day of the Dead (Día de Muertos). This celebration (October 31–November 2) honors and remembers dead family members and is a combination of both Aztec and Western traditions. Art skeletons and food offerings are made and the festival is created for those who have reached either heaven or hell. The Aztec goddess Mictecacihuatl rules over the festival of the dead, watches over the bones, preserves ancient rituals of the dead and is known as “Lady of the Dead”, since it is believed that she was born, then sacrificed as an infant.¹¹⁸

The 1544 *Doctrina Breve*¹¹⁹ was one of the first ways that the Bible and its stories were disseminated to Central Americans. Many of the ideas of religious painting and what would become a great retablos tradition came to Mexico through Francisco Pacheco’s book on art of painting called *El arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y grandezas*

¹¹⁶ Manuel Aguilar-Moreno, *Handbook To Life In The Aztec World*, New York, NY: Facts On File Inc., An imprint of Infobase Publishing, 2006 (also published by New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007), 375.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 375.

¹¹⁸ Mary Miller and Karl Taube. *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*. London: Thames & Hudson (1993).

¹¹⁹ “1544 *Doctrina breve*, written by Juan de Zumarraga, the first bishop of Mexico, at whose instigation the printing press was introduced into the New World. Earlier publications are known to have been issued from this press, but, with the exception of a few fragments of one of these earlier books, the 1544 *Doctrina* is the earliest complete book printed in the western hemisphere now in existence.” <http://www.loc.gov/r/rarebook/guide/amerhis.html>, accessed August 6, 2012.

(Seville, 1649).¹²⁰ The concept of the retablo in Latin America is that every person has this type of devotional art and it is related more to folk art as opposed to a larger work behind the altar. Gradually music, visual art, theater and religion created in Central and South America showed the many influences of Native and European culture and the music and paintings that could be included in a performance of *Final Judgment* help display the hybridization and foreshadow what is to come.

Painting and Sculpture List

Anon.: *Painting of angel bajonista* (c1600), Mexico City Cathedral, Mexico.

Anon.: *Plaster bajonista* (1649), Church of San Cristobel, Puebla, Mexico.

These two works provide pictorial evidence of the type of wind instruments played in church dramas and services.

Anon., Workshop Peru, Cuzco: *Saint Michael Archangel* (Late 17th– Early 18th-century). Collection of Marilyn and Carl Thoma.
http://blantonmuseum.org/exhibitions/details/the_virgin_saints_and_angels_south_american_paintings_16001825_from_th/ (Accessed September 12, 2012).

Anon.: **Quetzalcóatl:** *Aztec Round Dance* (c1520), in Codex Borbonicus (folio 26), Chamber of Deputies, Paris.

This displays some of the dances that went with the music of this time.

de Ayala, Felipe Guaman Poma: Images from *Nueva corónica* (c1600), The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Several of these images show how natives and choir-masters interacted.

Bitti, Bernardo: *La Asunción de la Virgen*, (c1595). Convento de la Merced, Cuzco, Peru.

¹²⁰ Elizabeth N. C. Zarur and Charles Muir Lovell, ed. *Art and Faith in Mexico, The Nineteenth-Century Retablo Tradition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico press, 2002, 25-27.

de Concha, Andrés. *Judicio final*, (1575). Yanhuítlán, Oaxaca.
San Miguel Arcángel, (1581). Catedral, Oaxaca, Oaxaca.

Please see discussion in this chapter.

Correa, Juan. *Historia de la Virgen de Guadalupe*, (1667), Museo Nacional Colegio de San Gregorio, Valladolid, Spain.

The image and of Guadalupe is perhaps the most famous religious image in Mexico.

Pérez, Gonzalo. *St. Michael Vanquishing the Devil*, (c1500–1511). from the National Gallery of Scotland.

de Villalpando, Cristóbal: *Woman of the Apocalypse*, (1685-86). Sacristy, Mexico City Cathedral.

Musical Selections

Anon and Borg, Paul W., *The Polyphonic Music In the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library*, Phd Thesis, Indiana University, 1985.

The late 16th early 17th century manuscripts has the chants *Archangele Michael* and *Cuentas a Santa Maria* that apply directly to the characters of this play and many unnamed instrumental works in the collection would fit during the sections that do not refer to a specific piece or to the sections that say “wind instruments play.” Most of the compositions in the manuscripts are anonymous and the named composer in the manuscript is Fernandez.

Bermúdez, Pedro, *Misa de Bomba* (1558-1605).
[http://www0.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Missa_de_bomba_\(Pedro_Bermúdez\)](http://www0.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Missa_de_bomba_(Pedro_Bermúdez))
Accessed September 15, 2013.

A bomba is a popular type of drum in Central and Latin America. The original manuscript is also available on the web.

Bierhorst, John, trans. *Cantares mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.

These are shorter songs that one might intersperse between the works of the mass.

Capillas, Francisco López. *Cui Luna, Sol et Omnia*.
[http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Cui_Luna,_Sol_et_omnia_\(Francisco_Lopez_Capillas\)](http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Cui_Luna,_Sol_et_omnia_(Francisco_Lopez_Capillas)) Accessed September 15, 2013.

Capillas, (ca. 1615 – Jan. or Feb. 1673), was a Mexican composer and chapel master at the Mexico City Cathedral. The translation of the motet is: “He that the Moon, the Sun, and all things serve at all times, by the outpouring of heavenly grace was born of a virgin”.

de Ceballo, Rodrigo, *Missa octavi toni*,

http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Rodrigo_de_Ceballos. Accessed September 15, 2013.

His Motets, Masses and Psalms¹²¹ (1525-1571) are cited and organized in a full way by Robert Snow.

Colin, Pierre, *Missa cum quatuor vocibus*.

http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Pierre_Colin. Accessed September 15, 2013.

His Motets and Chansons¹²² are also referred to in articles and a book and some still need to be transcribed from manuscript. He was active from 1538-1565.

de la Cruz, Sor Juana Inés: *Villancicos y letras sacras, 1676*, ed. by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte, 1952.

One example of these works can be found here:

<http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/images/f/f3/Cru-mad.pdf>

Fernandes, Gaspar, *Xicochi xicochi*.

[http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Xicochi_xicochi_\(Gaspar_Fernandes\)](http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Xicochi_xicochi_(Gaspar_Fernandes))
Accessed September 15, 2013.

Xicochi xicochi, a piece in Nahuatl, like some other pieces contained in the Lilly library Guatemalan manuscript, translates as: “Gently sleep, little Child. Cry no more, for the angels are here. Alleluia.” Another work referred to without a published edition that I know of is 6 Piezas para la entrada del Virrey don Diego Fernández de Córdoba en Puebla (1612).¹²³

Música Colonial Archive,

http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Música_Colonial_Archive Accessed September 15, 2013.

¹²¹ Snow, Robert J. *Obras completas de Rodrigo de Ceballos by Rodrigo de Ceballos*. Review by: Jane Morlet Hardie. *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Jun., 2001), Music Library Association 1009-1011. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/901031>. Accessed August 2, 2013.

¹²² Lengefeld, William Chris. *The Motets of Pierre Colin (fl. 1538-1564)*. University of Iowa, 1969.

¹²³ Stevenson, Robert. “European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala.” *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Jul., 1964): 341-352. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/741020> (accessed July 6, 2012).

This website holds music that was originally in the Antigua Cathedral in Guatemala from the 16th-18th centuries.

de Sahagún, Bernardino: *Psalmodia Christiana (Christian Psalmody)*. trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993.

This is a good reference for adding the correct incipits for masses and for adding chants to a program.

Stevenson, Robert. *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

This book contains both music and commentary.

Chapter 5

Watteau a Musical Painter:

The progression of theater and galant style in the 18th century

The paintings of Jean-Antoine Watteau (b. 1684, Valenciennes, d. 1721, Nogent-sur-Marne) were created during the reign of Louis XIV, an authoritative, charismatic and absolute monarch who exerted such a powerful influence on French culture that his effect can be felt to this day. However, this was also a time in which the ideas of pre-enlightenment grew and the power of the bourgeois class increased. In Watteau's paintings, we can find many clues that help us to understand aspects of French culture as the paintings speak to us in a way not possible in the other arts. Watteau coded ideas of philosophy, music, dance, instrumentation, and theater in his paintings. Taken as a whole, many of his ideas relate closely to what scholars later termed the "galant style." The idea of galant style is considered to be less serious and more elegant in contrast to Baroque fugues in music and Baroque symbolism and detail in painting.¹²⁴

There are several aspects of Watteau's paintings that will be examined in the following pages. First, the instruments and musicians he depicts are not only relevant to the works themselves, but also have larger implications outside the painter's frame. Second, Watteau's paintings communicate cultural ideals and lend insight to the way in which art and dance fit into French society. After analyzing several of Watteau's representative works, I propose a series of musical pieces that could effectively accompany these works in an art gallery. Since originally composing this chapter, a

¹²⁴ "Galant Style" <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/galant%20style>. Accessed March 15, 2013.

major exhibition of Watteau's art and music of the period was presented at the Metropolitan Museum of Art called "Watteau, Music, and Theater" from September 22–November 29, 2009.

Historical Context

To help put Watteau into context and to truly see the progression of his philosophy, it is important to focus on the reign of Louis XIV. Louis XIV took the throne in 1661 and hired the middle-class Jean-Baptiste Colbert as an administrator (also Controller General of Finances). Colbert created royal academies (between 1661 and his death in 1683) to organize artistic and intellectual life and make the arts more accessible and organized for both the public and the aristocracy. Only two academies existed before this time: the Académie Française (1635) and the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (1648).¹²⁵

Henri Michaux once said, "Music is an art in use everywhere. In battle, in the fields, in temples...the art which has the power to make men equal, a naturally social art..."¹²⁶ The establishment and organization of these royal academies helped Louis XIV to engage and involve many levels of society both nationally and internationally with his ideas and culture.

There were days of free admission also, in order to celebrate events such as royal births, marriages, or state visits...In addition the Opéra gave an annual concert in the garden of the Tuileries free to the public, on the eve of the King's name day, the feast of Saint Louis. A considerable number of functionaries of the realm or luminaries of the stage had right of entry to the theater without fee...Ladies were excluded from the ground floor and took their places only in the loges. The first

¹²⁵ James Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau*, (New York: Norton, 1978), 9.

¹²⁶ François Lesure, *Music and Art in Society*, (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), 9.

loges were for the social elite, the second for the bourgeois, and the third or “Paradis,” being the least favored places, went to less favored elements of society. The artisan class was well represented in the parterre, as has been deduced from a close reading of several criminal cases directed against individuals for creating a disturbance there.¹²⁷

Through the development of an organized culture, Louis XIV was able to increase his power and ideals through the arts while maintaining the interest and adoration of the public. The newly created academies in the arts and sciences generated heroic representations of the king that reinforced the royal cult. Increasing censorship targeted "scandalous" texts (for example, pornography and Italian theater) and political writings incompatible with an absolute monarchy. Systematic purchases of treasures from ancient and modern cultures brought about globalization and French pride of knowledge. The French “superiority” in arts and culture also helped to create French Classicism, the ideal achievement of France’s “golden age” under Louis XIV.¹²⁸ The use of classicism and ancient themes, and the progression of their use in the works of Watteau and a particular predecessor, Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) relate directly to musical themes and ideas.

Poussin and Watteau: A Comparison of Background and Style Through the “Four Seasons”

Originally from France, Poussin spent his entire career in Rome except for his two years as a painter for Louis XIII.¹²⁹ This contrasts with Watteau, who had many Italian subjects and Italian tastes, but spent no time in Italy. It is necessary to discuss Poussin because he

¹²⁷ Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780*. W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2003: 604-5.

¹²⁸ “The Rise and Fall of the Absolute Monarchy: Grand Siècle and Enlightenment (second half of the 17th end of the 18th centuries) Accessed on December 11, 2003 from: <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/bnf/bnf0005.html>

¹²⁹ <http://gallery.euroweb.hu/bio/p/poussin/biograph.html>, accessed on December 8, 2003.

introduced Italian subjects and classicism to French painting during his time as court painter, which would eventually lead to “the united tastes,” also known as “Les gout réunis.” The idea of “The united tastes” provided a way to combine French and Italian style and Poussin helped pave the way for this idea in painting.

A comparison of the four seasons theme as treated by Poussin and Watteau offers a concise way of showing the change in tastes. Poussin’s *Four Seasons* has four large biblical scenes (Spring: Adam and Eve in Paradise; Summer: Ruth and Boaz;¹³⁰ Autumn: Grapes from the Promised Land; and Winter: Deluge).¹³¹ Watteau chose to show pagan, naked, young Roman deities (Spring: Flora; Summer: Ceres; Autumn: Bacchus; Winter: a playful youth). Part of the difference between Poussin and Watteau’s subjects is reflected by the fact that most of Watteau’s patrons were townspeople, not high nobility.¹³² Watteau painted his *Four Seasons* for Crozat, the greatest private art collector of his time. Even Watteau’s customers perhaps show a progression of society at that time.

The only surviving painting from Watteau’s *Four Seasons* is *Ceres, Summer*.¹³³ Ceres, Roman goddess of the harvest, is surrounded by signs of the summer Zodiac: Gemini, Cancer, and Leo (Fig. 1).¹³⁴ Poussin’s *Summer, Ruth and Boaz* is offered for comparison in Fig. 2. It is worthwhile to note that Vivaldi’s famous *Four Seasons* was

¹³⁰ The story of Boaz and Ruth is told in the Book of Ruth (2:1-17). A wealthy man of Bethlehem in Judah, Boaz, followed the Israelite law that required farmers to leave the edges of their fields un-harvested so the poor might collect them. During the barley harvest, a young widow named Ruth came into Boaz’s field. Boaz learned that Ruth’s deceased husband was his kinsman. Boaz invited her to eat with him and asked her to collect grain only in his field, instructing his workers to leave sheaves of Barley especially for her to gather. At the urging of her mother-in-law, Naomi, Ruth later went to Boaz to remind him of his right and obligation as a relative of her late husband to marry her. They did marry and their son, Obed, became the grandfather of King David. Accessed on February 6, 2013: <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Ruth+2&version=NKJV>.

¹³¹ *The Deluge* is based on the story of Noah’s Ark. Accessed on February 18, 2004 from <http://www.abcgallery.com/religion/noah.html>

¹³² Daniel Heartz. *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780*. W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2003: 7.

¹³³ Some of the other seasons exist in reproductions and engravings.

¹³⁴ <http://www.nga.gov/collection/gallery/gg54/gg54-45866.0.html>. Accessed July 20, 2012.

composed in 1725, considerably later than Watteau's *Seasons* circa 1717–18 and Poussin's *Seasons* circa 1660–1664. Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* does not allude to the biblical, or the zodiac, but references poetry instead. A contemporary of Vivaldi and Watteau, Louis LeMaire also wrote a musical piece on the topic of the four seasons.

Figure 1. *Ceres, Summer*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 2. Louvre Museum, *Summer, Ruth and Boaz* ¹³⁵



Watteau: Theater, Music, and the *fêtes galantes*

Although the monarchy and the bourgeois watched mostly neoclassical drama and spectacle, the rest of the public watched the *commedia dell'arte*—the “theater of improvisation.”¹³⁶ The mere definition “theater of improvisation” shows the leaning towards galant style. The theater created was a simplification of the lines, parts and forms. A similar trend of simplification happened in music during that time, which enabled more improvisation for a lead part.

Commedia dell'arte came from popular forms in the sixteenth century and contained stock characters such as Mezzetin, Harlequin, and Pantalone. Each *commedia*

¹³⁵ <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/p/poussin/4/15summer.html>. Accessed August 8, 2012.

¹³⁶ The counterpart in France was the Comédie-Française, which opened in 1680.

dell' arte character was a characterization of people such as lawyers, doctors, comic servants, etc. Mezzetin is a character that Watteau identified with, and he even painted a portrait of himself dressed as Mezzetin with a guitar (Mezzetin, or the half measure, is known as a singer/musician/dancer who is of gentle manners but is unfaithful to many people in his life. He is also known as an amorous valet who frequently engaged in the pursuit of unrequited love¹³⁷ – see Fig. 3a).

Figure 3a. *Mezzetin*. Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Watteau's *Mezzetin* depicts this unrequited love through what appears to be a statue in the background. She is a woman with her back to him who will never come to life. It is also ironic that Mezzetin plays the guitar, which is most often a somewhat comic instrument during that time when associated with the theater. Mezzetin's body language,

¹³⁷ Watteau's *Mezzetin* <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/34.138> (Accessed December 6, 2013). And also: <http://abcgallery.com/W/Watteau/watteaubio.html#Commedia> (Accessed Feb. 24, 2004).

his head, neck and his hands might also suggest that he is playing in an unattractive and mocking way. His song and suffering might cause the viewer to feel the same way.¹³⁸

These stock characters like Mezzetin, along with stock plots and standard pranks commonly referred to as *lazzi*, are the substance of the *commedia* plays. *Lazzi* (“knots,” meaning turn, trick or prank) would be added *ad libitum* into certain sections and the rest would be improvised. *Commedia* also eventually was performed for the monarchy. At its height of popularity between 1550 and 1650, *Commedia* could be seen in everything from Turkish puppet theater to the plays of Shakespeare and Molière.¹³⁹ Watteau’s background in the theater where he painted stage sets for opera evolved into a theatrical way of painting, and many of his paintings depict the *commedia* and even use common themes or standard plots or *lazzi*. One very interesting way to present music in museums and theaters is to use puppet theaters with sets from the period or copies thereof. Figure 3b is a picture of a period stage set from the eighteenth century that is inspired by Watteau’s painting, or who knows, might have been painted by Watteau himself as he did apprentice with Claude Audran III (who worked often for the royal family at Versailles).¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Pierre Rosenberg and Nicole Parmantier, *Watteau 1684 – 1721*, (National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. 1984), p. 363.

¹³⁹ John S. Powell, “Musical Practices in the Theater of Molière. *Revue de Musicologie*. T. 82, No. 1 (1996), p. 27. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/947203> (Accessed: December 6, 2013). Also in Robert M. Isherwood, “Entertainment in the Parisian Fairs in the Eighteenth Century.” *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Mar., 1981), pp. 24-48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1877063> (Accessed December 11, 2013). And finally in William H. McNeill, *Venice: The Hinge of Europe, 1081-1797*. (University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 297

¹⁴⁰ Photo, Opera Royale, Versailles, France. Anna Marsh, February 2012.

Figure 3b. Versailles Period Theater Set.



The most famous type of Watteau's paintings were the *fêtes galantes*. His *morceaux de réception* to the Académie, *Pilgrimage to the Isle of Cythera*, 1717,¹⁴¹ began what would later be known as a whole genre of painting. It was registered by the Académie as "une feste galante."¹⁴² However, the *fêtes galantes* was not an entirely a new invention on the part of Watteau. The genre was formerly known as *fêtes champêtre* (rural festival). The roots of *fêtes galantes* can be traced back to the Garden of Love in the medieval poem "Roman de la Rose."¹⁴³ Watteau's paintings created a type of theater (which went along with his background) for the French nobility that could imitate "real life."¹⁴⁴ These galant festivals are mirrored in his portraits and paintings of Italian and French theater.

It is remarkable and perhaps a sign of the times that the untraveled Watteau incorporated Italian style in his paintings, and that his paintings were also admired in Venice.¹⁴⁵ Watteau's unreal settings of formal French gardens recall those of the cloistered medieval "gardens of love" more than they do those of the sixteenth-century Venetian *fêtes champêtres*, however. Watteau's *Fêtes vénitiennes* or *Venetian Pleasures* (Fig. 4),¹⁴⁶ is also a *fêtes galantes* piece that shows how Watteau composed his paintings and what was significant. The elements, which are in many of his paintings, include eroticism or Venus (the reclining nude statue above), animalism (the ram's head on the

¹⁴¹ Paris, Louvre; See Watteau, Fig. 3; version, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg.

¹⁴² K. Marlow: 'Fête champêtre', *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, (Oxford University Press, Accessed 11 December 2003), <<http://www.groveart.com>>"

¹⁴³ K. Marlow: 'Fête champêtre', *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, (Oxford University Press, Accessed 11 December 2003), <<http://www.groveart.com>>"

¹⁴⁴ Hertz, *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴⁵ K. Marlow: 'Fête champêtre', *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, (Oxford University Press, Accessed 11 December 2003), <<http://www.groveart.com>>"

¹⁴⁶ Hertz, *Ibid.*, 11.

vase), conversations, the natural beauty of the garden, music (the musette), costumes, and the dance.¹⁴⁷

Figure 4. *Fêtes vénitiennes* or *Venetian Pleasures*



Watteau has made the painting personal (just as he himself was the subject of *Mezzetin*) and has included two identified portraits within the painting.¹⁴⁸ The male dancer dressed in a Turkish theatrical costume was Watteau's friend and patron Nicolas

¹⁴⁷ <http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2003/genre/158-006.htm> Accessed February 12, 2013.

¹⁴⁸ Hertz, *Ibid.*, 11.

Vleughels, with whom Watteau lived for a year from 1718–1719.¹⁴⁹ The musette or bagpipe player is once again Watteau himself. The man directly under the statue—the only one in the embrace of a woman—is wearing the only other directly theatrical costume, the fool’s hat.

The dance has been identified as the Forlana based on Vleughel’s pose with his hands folded and his right foot forward. The Forlana was known as a courting dance in which the man shows the woman his aptitude with the many complicated steps. The dance was also the closest thing Venice had to a national song; the gondoliers in engravings were also shown in costumes similar to that of Vleughel.¹⁵⁰

Other elements of theater and music are portrayed in Watteau’s paintings. *Love in the French Theater* (Fig. 5)¹⁵¹ shows love accompanied by music and dance. Once again, a couple of the characters in this painting can be identified as portraits of real people. Crispin, in the far right of the painting, is the celebrated actor Paul Poison. He is the supposed leader of the group and can be seen as greeting the viewer with his hat in his hand.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/frgenre-watteau.shtm> Accessed February 12, 2013.

¹⁵⁰ Heartz., *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁵¹ Heartz., *Ibid.*, 12. Heartz cites Gregorio Lambranzi’s *Neue und Curieuse Theatralische Tantz-Schul* (1716) for the costume.

¹⁵² <http://www.wga.hu/html/w/watteau/antoine/1/01theafr.html>. Accessed August 8, 2012.

Figure 5. *Love in the French Theater* Staatliche Museen, Berlin



The artist again shows dance, music, theater, open air, wine and love, the real and the imaginary. Watteau tried to show a similar situation in another context within the genre in order to offer different interpretations.¹⁵³ Once again the couple appears to dance the Forlana. However, this time, the smiling statue is veiled without eroticism; love and lust are not as explicit. Also of interest in this painting is the choice of instruments for this dance: the oboe, violin and musette. This imagery is helpful in selecting music and instruments for a musical performance at a museum or theater.

¹⁵³ Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Pierre Rosenberg and Nicole Parmantier, *Watteau 1684-1721*, National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C. 1984, (pg. 339).

The use of these instruments together suggests that the musette functions both as a melodic and a continuo instrument (although probably the production of a drone was the extent of its chordal and sometimes non-chordal function). The musette's use in Watteau's paintings might also cause one to speculate on dance music and the role of the drone in other musical works of the time period. Another painting, *The Country Ball* (Fig. 6)¹⁵⁴ has this same combination of instruments with two dancers in similar positions.¹⁵⁵ In the *Pleasures of the Dance* (Fig. 7)¹⁵⁶ the instruments of the dance band include oboe, flute, three violins, and what appears to be a violone or double bass.¹⁵⁷ Once again, we see the mixture of winds and strings in a small ensemble obviously improvising on some tune without written music.

Figure 6. *The Country Ball*, Private collection.



¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 299.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 369.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 269.

Figure 7. *Pleasures of the Dance*, The Governors of the Dulwich Picture Gallery.



Another view of Watteau's relation to the theater and music can be seen in his many drawings and studies from life during the time. Just as a composer might make a sketch of themes or movements in an opera or symphony, Watteau bound his drawings in large volumes and referenced some of the characters in his drawings in many of his paintings.¹⁵⁸ Gersaint wrote that Watteau was "...one of the greatest and best draftsmen that France has ever produced."¹⁵⁹ The idea that Gersaint's description of Watteau as more of a draftsman than a true artist or painter makes him more akin to a composer, since Watteau helps the viewer feel a particular emotion or react in a certain way through samples and variations from existing themes.

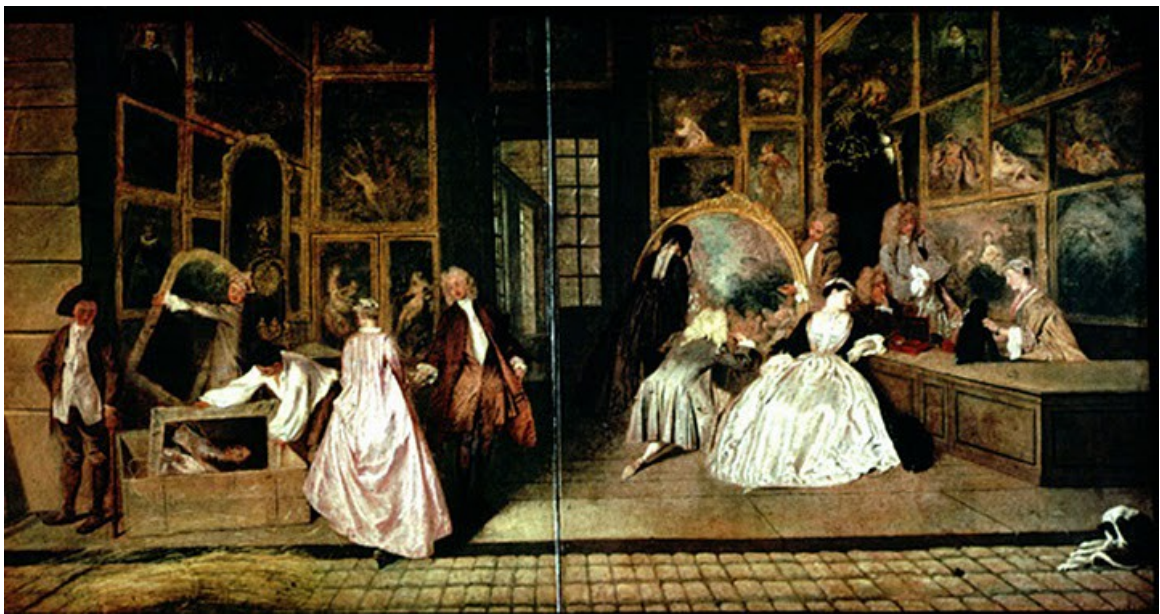
¹⁵⁸ "Antoine Watteau" accessed December 8, 2003 from: <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/bio/w/watteau/antoine/biograph.html>.

¹⁵⁹ Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Pierre Rosenberg and Nicole Parmantier, *Watteau 1684 1721*. (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1984), 11.

***L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (1720, Oil on canvas, Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin)**

Watteau's *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* is known as his last important work in which he brought together the changing ideals of the nation and of his *fêtes galantes* style (see Fig. 8).¹⁶⁰

Figure 8, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*.



It is thanks to the *Mercure de France* of 1732 and Mr. Gersaint that there is so much known about the painting and how it came to be.¹⁶¹

On his return to Paris, which was in 1721, during the first years of my establishment, he [Watteau] came to me to ask if I would agree to receive him and allow him to stretch his fingers, those were his words, if I were willing, as I was saying, to allow him to paint a ceiling [shop sign] which I was to exhibit outdoors; I had some reluctance to grant his wish, much preferring to occupy him with something more substantial; but seeing that that would please him, I agreed. The success he had with this piece is well-known; the whole was made from life; the positions were so true and so relaxed; the disposition so natural, the group so well

¹⁶⁰ Grasselli, Rosenberg and Parmantier, *Ibid.*, 446-9.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 446.

understood that it attracted the looks of the passerby; and even the most skillful painters came several times to admire it; it was a work of eight days, and still he only worked mornings, his delicate health or more accurately, his weakness, did not permit him to work longer. It is the only work that slightly sharpened his conceit; he made no bones about admitting it to me.¹⁶²

One scene within the painting is of a young woman looking at a portrait of Louis XIV that is being packed up. In addition to that symbolism of the end of the reign of Louis XIV, the name of Gersaint's shop was "Au Grand Monarque."¹⁶³ Each of the paintings pictured in the background represents a gallery of works that Watteau admired.

The role of the individual in ordinary life was a subject of interest to the eighteenth-century viewer. Conversation as a way of life is especially prominent in this painting; there are four conversations depicted. The conversations about the paintings to be sold in this picture are of a different type: more literal, specific, and complex, just as symphonic music was to become. "The aims are still the same as they always were in Watteau's pictures; only this time it is love in a shop instead of a garden, and buying and selling now take the place of music in society."¹⁶⁴ Gersaint brings together the two subjects of illusion and reality, aspects that Watteau strove to depict throughout his career.

As Louis XIV's monarchy passed, many people and artists, especially Watteau, saw the social stability and routine the king had created as oppressive to the individual spirit. A counter-cultural revolution under his successors, Louis XV (1715–1774) and Louis XVI (1774–1793), brought forth the ideas of the Enlightenment and its values that

¹⁶² Cited in Ibid, from Gersaint [1744] in Champion 1921, 183-184.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ "Watteau- L'Enseigne de Gersaint Accessed on February 20, 2004
<http://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/w/watteau/antoine/2/21enseig.html>

tore away at the theatrical and courtly foundations that Richelieu and Louis XIV had given the state.¹⁶⁵

France's cultural center moved from Versailles back to Paris. The increased role of the press, of reports of scientific and commercial activities, of exploration and discoveries, as well as the weekly meetings of academies and salons fuelled literary, artistic, and artisanal circles.

Artists, including but not limited to musicians, novelists, painters, and philosophers, described a new and better society and became the guiding light of a culture that was ready for change, and which sought independence from royal control and censorship. Artists moved away from being royal servants to serving as moral authorities. The new freedom exercised by artists reached its zenith during the French Revolution (1789–1799) when essays, novels and paintings played a large part in bringing down the monarchy.¹⁶⁶ During the change of the monarchy, paintings went from pious and courtly to comedic and bourgeois. Perhaps, because he was born near the border of Flanders, Watteau later used images from everyday life like the Dutch artists discussed in Chapter Three. Watteau juxtaposed literal conversation and other dialogues about theater, dance, culture, and politics by drawing in the viewer with erotic and decorative aspects.¹⁶⁷ His painted “conversations” depicting people in dance, nature, music and theaters demonstrate the ideas and morals of the age of enlightenment.

¹⁶⁵ “The Rise and Fall of the Absolute Monarchy: Grand Siècle and Enlightenment (second half of the 17th -- end of the 18th centuries) Accessed on December 11, 2003 from: <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/bnf/bnf0005.html>

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Mary Vidal, from the synopsis of “Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth-And Eighteenth-Century France,” Yale University Press, November 1992.

Musical Selections to accompany the paintings

While the paintings mentioned in the above text generally relate well to the music of the following composers, I also mention some additional paintings below that would fit directly with some of these pieces.

Bach, Johann Sebastian, *Sämtliche Orchesterwerke =: The Complete Orchestral Works*. Urtext der neuen Bach-Ausgabe. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999.

In this collection (from 1720-40), the *Orchestral Suite No. 1*, movement 4, is a “Forlana.” This is the dance in Watteau’s painting *Fêtes vénitiennes*. The Germans were famous for making suites of orchestral music in the French style and Bach’s Orchestral suites fit this model and Watteau’s time period.

Boismortier, Joseph Bodin de, *Vingt Sixième œuvre: Contenant Cinq Sonates Pour Le Violoncelle, Viole, Ou Basson, Avec La Basse Chiffrée : Suivies D'un Concerto Pour L'un Ou L'autre De Ces Instrumens*. Wyton: King's Music, 1999.

Watteau depicts bassoonists in his drawings as well as in a few paintings, mentioned earlier, so I have included some works Boismortier wrote for bassoon as well as other instruments.

Boismortier, Joseph Bodin de, *Œuvres Pour Deux Bassons, Violoncelles, Ou Violes: Op. 14, 40, 66*. Edited by Stéphane Perreau. Courlay, France: Editions J.M. Fuzeau, 2001.

This collection of sonatas compiles three publications that are originally from 1726, 1732, and 1737 respectively.

Campra, André, and La Motte. *L'europe Galante: Ballet, Représenté En L'an 1697 Par L'académie Royale De Musique*. Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg Press, 1967.

This opera-ballet also has a forlana, as cited in Watteau’s paintings, as well as many other dances that would be very appropriate. Also, the title of the work fits well with Watteau’s galant style of painting.

Corrette, Michel, *Les Delices De La Solitude: Sonates Pour Le Violoncelle, Viole, Basson Avec La Basse Continue, [oeuvre XX], 1740*. Courlay: Editions Fuzeau, 2008.

The name of this sonata set, the delights of solitude is evocative of Watteau’s solo musician paintings, such as *Mezzetin*.

Couperin, François. *Les Goûts-Réunis, Ou, Nouveaux Concerts ...: Augmentés D'une Grande Sonade En Trio Intitulée Le Parnasse, Ou, L'apothéose De Corelli; Concert Instrumental Sous Le Titre D'apothéose: Composé à La Mémoire Immortelle De L'incomparable Monsieur De Lully.* Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1979.

The pieces listed in this collection are from 1724 and include a reference to a grand hike up a mountain, which is certainly featured in many of Watteau's paintings most famously in *The Embarkation for Cythera* (1717) which has a mountain depicted in the background as well as a party on a hill overlooking the sea below.

Couperin, François, *La Sultanne: 2 Violons, 2 Violes De Gambe Et Clavecin.* Hungerford: RG Editions, 2001.

"La Sultane" would work very well with Watteau's painting *Venetian Pleasures*, which features a man dancing in a Sultan's hat.

Couperin, François, Jean Saint-Arroman, and Philippe Lescat. *Les Nations.* Courlay, France: Éditions J.M. Fuzeau, 1993.

Originally from 1726, *Les Nations* contains sonatas devoted to a different nationalities: *La Française, L'Espagnole, L'Impériale*, and *La Piémontaise*. Watteau emphasizes people of different cultures and countries in many of his paintings, so these pieces by Couperin would be very helpful in depicting the French opinion in music. This edition also has a first edition of the pieces *La Pucelle, La Visionnaire, La Astrée. La Steinkerque, La Sultane*, as mentioned before, as well as *La Superbe*.

Michel Richard Delalande [de Lalande] (15 December 1657–18 June 1726)
Grand Motets, Petit Motets, Sinfonies pour les soupers du roi: Suite no 6 "Airs du ballet de Flore ou Trianon".

These musical pieces could accompany *The Union of Comedy and Music* (*L'Alliance de la musique et de la comédie*), private collection, as seen in the book *Watteau, Music, and Theater*.

Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) (attributed) "Au Claire de la Lune" anonymous 17th Century.

This song directly references the Pierrot character and would fit with Watteau's *Pierrot Content* (ca. 1712), Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. Many other works of Lully would be appropriate, such as dances and arias from his operas such as *Armide*.

Lully, Jean-Baptiste, and Marin Marais. *Trios Pour Le Coucher Du Roy.* Edited by Herbert Schneider and Martin Lutz. Paris: Heugel, 1987.

Pièces de viole, Book 2: Suite no 2 in D minor - Cloches ou carillon (1701) and *Pièces en trio* (1692) are good selections from this edition. This collection also reminds us to imagine different settings (e.g. his bedroom, the stables etc.) where music for the King might occur.

Marais, Marin, *Suites à Trois Violes (ou Flûtes Traversières, Violon, Dessus De Viole Et Basse Continue)*: Ixe Livre, 1717. Paris: Aug. Zurfluh, 1993.

Michon: “*Le loup garoux*” “*La Carillon de Dunkerque*” “*La Mississippi*” “*La nouvelle anonyme*”.

These pieces would work well with with Nicolas Lancret’s: Concert in the Paris Home of Pierre Crozat, (c.1720)

Rameau, Jean-Philippe (1683–1764): Selections from *Les Indes Galantes* (1735) Selections from *Pygmalion* (1748) *Pièces de Clavecin* (1724).

Some of the works from Rameau’s *Pièces de Clavecin* that would work very well with Watteau’s Pleasures of the Dance are:

1. Allemande
2. Courante
3. Gigue en Rondeau
4. Le Rappel des Oiseaux (The Gathering of the Birds)
5. 1er & 2me Rigaudon
6. Double du 2me Rigaudon
7. Musette en Rondeau
8. Tambourin
9. La Villageoise (Rondeau) (The Village Girl)
10. Les Tendres Plaintes (Rondeau) (The Gentle Complaints)
11. Les Niais de Sologne (The Pretending Fools)
12. 1er Double des Niais (1st Variation on the Fools)
13. 2me Double des Niais (2nd Variation on the Fools)
14. Les Soupairs (The Sighs)
15. La Joyeuse (Rondeau) (The Merry One)
16. La Follette (Rondeau) (The Madcap)
17. L'Entretien des Muses (The Discourse of the Muses)
18. Les Tourbillons (Rondeau) (The Whirlwinds)
19. Les Cyclopes (Rondeau)
20. Le Lardon (Menuet) (The Jibe)
21. La Boiteuse (The Lame One).

Conclusion

The previous material focused on shared themes in music, theater and visual arts. It could well serve as a condensed guide for the early modern era for both museum presenters and musicians. The topic of shared ideas in music and visual arts is immense and there are many more ideas, subjects, composers and paintings that could be included in this guide. By concentrating on specific famous painters and playwrights that had a great interest in music, curators and musicians can use some of my methodologies to create programs that will inspire and educate themselves as well as their audiences.

Some general references for those interested in music in art are the Research Center for Music Iconography (<http://rcmi.gc.cuny.edu>) and Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale (<http://www.ridim.org/>). Both organizations hold conferences and events and maintain a large online collection. Formed in 2009, the Royal Musical Association also has a Music and Art study group and also holds events every year (<http://www.rma.ac.uk/studygroups/music-and-visual-arts.asp>), although I did not see the topic for 2012 or one posted for 2013 yet. While these websites may whet a person's interest in a work, it is much more exciting and informative to attend a concert that is presented in conjunction with artworks that somehow relate to the music, and view the scale of the artworks while experiencing the music in person, in order to appreciate all the details, splendor, emotional connections and interactions that occur.

It is also important to remember that each theater or museum has a history that might be incorporated into a musical program. Some museums build on exhibits throughout the years or have a specific curator for a particular time period. Many times

museums directors and curators feel that they or their audiences cannot relate to the music of the time period.¹⁶⁸ This is something that early music specialists can help to change by performing fascinating and informed music at a high level—creating a better connection to, and greater understanding and enjoyment of an era in history.

It can also be helpful for musicians, when possible, to look at lists of paintings in particular exhibits or the rooms where the exhibits are housed, and/or to investigate major subjects in each room of an exhibition in order to establish a good musical program that will relate directly to the art works. Performers and presenters of early music could thus find inspiration and context for their programming, and help their audiences understand the history of art and music, the connection between the visual/theater arts and music.

¹⁶⁸ This is the instance in a new production that occurred at the Royal Opera house about Titian. All of the music that was included was by modern composers even though Ovid's poetry was the basis for the poets that were involved. In all of the reviews, none of the music or poetry was mentioned. Accessed, September 8, 2012. <http://www.roh.org.uk/productions/metamorphosis-titian-2012-by-various>

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